

4°G  
5569



E x c e r p t s   f r o m :

COLONEL R. MEINERTZHAGEN, CBE DSO

---

MIDDLE  
EAST  
DIARY  
1917-1956

N O T   F O R   S A L E

Excerpts from:

Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen, CBE DSO

MIDDLE EAST DIARY 1917 - 1956

London, The Cresset Press 1959

From the front flap of the book jacket:

During the First World War Colonel Meinertzhagen was on Lord Allenby's staff in the Middle East; later he was successively a member of the Peace Delegation, Chief Political Officer in Palestine and Military Adviser to the Middle East Department of the Colonial Office.

From the reverse flap of the book jacket:

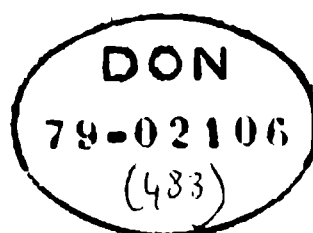
Colonel Meinertzhagen was born in 1878, educated in Harrow and joined the Army in 1899. He served with the Royal Fusiliers in India until 1902, when he transferred to the King's African Rifles.

...

During the 1914-1918 war he served on the Staff in East Africa, Palestine and France. After the war he was a member of the Paris Peace Delegation. He served as Chief Political Officer in Palestine and Syria from 1919-1920 and as Military Adviser to the Middle East Department of the Colonial Office from 1921-1924. Throughout this period he played an important part in the affairs of the Middle East, and notably Palestine, and his interest in and connection with the region have continued ever since.

During the Second World War he was on the staff of the War Office 1939-1940 and served in the Home Guard from 1940-1945.

G.  
50



## Preface

p.ix

...the ultimate establishment of Israel - bringing the Jews back to their old Home after nearly 2,000 years of dispersal and persecution - to my mind the most constructive and important outcome of the First World War.

(Col. Meinertzhagen states in the preface that, because of his foreign-sounding name, German nationality and a Jewish origin were sometimes applied to him. In fact, the name is of Danish origin and, so far as he can trace - for some 400 years back - there is no Jewish blood in his veins nor has there ever been.)

## Chapter I: Introduction to Zionism.

### 3.III.1910. Odessa.

p.4

(added later: "Also by Balfour's statement: 'The position of the Jews is unique. For them race, religion and country are interrelated as they are interrelated in the case of no other race, no other religion and no other country on earth.'")

### 2.XII.1917. Richon, Palestine

p.7

They (the Zionists) have tried to live beside the Arab and be friendly to him but no amount of kindness or humouring will make the Arab love them or even like them.

Such then are two of the elements which face the Political Officer in this new territory. But one thing is sure. The Jew, however small his voice, however mild his manner, will in the end be heard and he will succeed. The Arab will trumpet and bluster, others in Europe and America will sing his praises if the local orchestra breaks down, but he will remain where he is and has for ever been, an inhabitant of the east, nurturing stagnant ideas and seeing no further than the narrow doctrines of Mohammed.

### 7.II.1918. War Office

p.9

Balfour at once said, 'Certainly not; both the Prime Minister and myself have been influenced by a desire to give the Jews their rightful place in the world; a great nation without a home is not right.' I said I was glad to hear that. I then asked, 'At the back of your mind do you regard this declaration as a charter for ultimate Jewish sovereignty in Palestine or are you trying to graft a Jewish population on to an Arab Palestine?' Balfour waited some time before he replied, choosing his words carefully 'My personal hope is that the Jews will make good in Palestine and eventually found a Jewish State. It is up to them now; we have given them their great opportunity.'

2.II.1918. War Office

p.9/10

Lunched with the Crewe's where I met Mrs. Leopold Rothschild, a violent anti-Zionist. ... I argued that Zionism had already produced a Jewish Nation and that it was unreasonable for her to oppose her own peoples' aspirations when they were so noble. I told her that I thought the chief opponents to Zionism were worshippers of the Golden Calf (Rothschilds, Montifiores, Swaythlings and Montagues)...

13.II.1918. War Office

p.10

Visit from James Rothschild who is just off to Palestine to join the Jewish Battalion. He begged that he might be spared the discomforts of a troop train, but as I cannot see why he should have preference, I declined to help him.

17.III.1918. War Office

p.11

Since I have been in the War Office I have often had to go and see the King in Buckingham Palace to explain to him the progress of the campaigns in East Africa, Palestine and Mesopotamia. I had a long talk with him today, mainly on personalities and not on strategy or tactics. He is much more interested in Smuts, von Lettow, Allenby, etc., than he is on the progress of the campaign. As usual he did most of the talking and gave me little chance of explaining detail. He seems to take it for granted that German East Africa, Palestine and Mesopotamia will come under the British Crown at the end of the war and outlined his ideas on the subject. He particularly desired Palestine for biblical reasons. He made some remarks about the 'final crusade'. I said that already Palestine had been promised as a National Home for the Jews but he envisaged the Jews coming in as a member of the Empire. I thought that a splendid idea and will no doubt eventuate if we behave reasonably but there are already signs of serious anti-semitism in Whitehall and efforts to stultify the Balfour Declaration.

## Chapter II: Peace Conference.

30.I.1919. Paris

p.13

Weizmann dined with me last night and told me what the aims of the Zionists were.

He wants the recognition of the League of Nations to the historic title of the Jewish People to Palestine and the right of the Jews to reconstitute in Palestine their National Home.

He lays down the boundaries as follows. On the north from Sidon to the foot hills of the Lebanon over the dividing line between the eastern and western slopes of Hermon and then close to but west of the Hedjaz Railway. In the east

a line close to and west of the Hedjaz Railway terminating at the Gulf of Aqaba. In the south a frontier agreed on with the Egyptian Government and in the west the Mediterranean.

The Sovereign possessions of Palestine to be vested in the League of Nations and the Government to be entrusted to Great Britain as Mandatory Power.

p.14

Weizmann argues that if he cannot go east of Jordan the many millions of Jews who eventually come to Palestine will be crowded out. I also disagree with the southern boundary going to Aqaba. If they want an outlet to the Red Sea I should sooner cede Sinai to the east bank of the Suez Canal. After all, the Jews have considerable claims to Sinai, both on historic and religious grounds; they are the only people who have wandered about there for forty years, and we received the ten commandments on Mount Sinai. By 'we', I mean Moses.

12.II.1919. Paris

p.14/15

I have altered my views on Zionism for two reasons. In the first place I regard the position of the Jews in the world mosaic of nations as most unsatisfactory. That a great people like the Jews should not have a home of their own is a monstrous injustice. They must not only have a home but it must be their own where they can exercise sovereign rights. Secondly a contented prosperous Jewish people in Palestine would lend great strength to the British Empire in the Middle East. The Balfour Declaration, which Weizmann regards as a great document, a charter of freedom, is in fact a paradox, meaning nothing at all, like so many other things emanating from A.J.B.

I had a long talk with Weizmann today and advised him to go all out for Jewish Sovereignty in Palestine. He might get it now, whereas in a year's time it will be impossible. I told him I would help him all I knew. I have good reason to believe that Lloyd George and Wilson will support him. Clemenceau and the Italians would of course oppose it as they have schemes of their own in the Middle East. But Weizmann thinks the time inopportune and might wreck the whole idea of Mandatory Zionism. I am sure the Arabs will accept anything from the Peace Conference but would never accept a Jewish Sovereign State imposed by Great Britain in say five years' time. There are vast anti-semitic forces at work even now in London and elsewhere but they are as yet incoherent and powerless to intervene in Paris. In five years' time they will be in a position to deny to the Jews their rights.

...I got Lawrence to agree and he has promised Feisal's support. ... I should also give the Jews Sinai and compensate Egypt elsewhere.

p.15/16

(added later: "This letter was written to Felix Frankfurter as representing the Zionist Delegation in Paris. It was drafted by Feisal, Lawrence, Weizmann, Frankfurter and myself.")

DELEGATION HEDJAZIENNE  
Paris  
1.III.1919

Dear Mr. Frankfurter,

I want to take this opportunity of my first contact with American Zionists to tell you what I have often been able to say to Dr. Weizmann in the past.

We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppressions at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by happy coincidence have been able to take the first step towards the attainment of their national ideals together.

We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through: we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.

With the chief of your movement, especially with Dr. Weizmann, we have had and continue to have the closest relations. He has been a great helper of our cause, and I hope the Arabs may soon be in a position to make the Jews some return for their kindness. We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not Imperialist, and there is room in Syria for both of us.

Indeed I think that neither can be really a success without the other.

People less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours, ignoring the need for co-operation of the Arabs and Zionists, have been trying to exploit the local difficulties that must necessarily arise in Palestine in the early stages of our movements. Some of them have, I am afraid, misrepresented your aims to the Arab peasantry and our aims to the Jewish peasantry, with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences.

I wish to give you my firm conviction that these differences are not on questions of principle but on matters of detail such as must inevitably occur in every contact

of neighbouring peoples, and are as easily adjusted by mutual goodwill. Indeed nearly all of them will disappear with further knowledge.

I look forward and my people with me look forward to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their place in the community of civilized peoples of the world.

Believe me, Yours sincerely,  
(signed) Feisal



25.III.1919. Paris  
p.17-20

(added later: "On March 24, 1919, I lunched with Lloyd George and Philip Kerr. We talked Zionism the whole meal. I tried to tie L.G. down to ultimate Jewish Sovereignty; he thought it was much too soon to start discussing the ultimate goal of Zionism. I also spoke a great deal about the sovereignty of Sinai and urged L.G. that H.M.G. should announce annexation. This interested him and he asked me to send him an unofficial memoranda on the subject. I therefore wrote the following on March 25, 1919:")

25.III.1919. Paris  
Personal

My Dear Prime Minister,

You asked me yesterday to send you an unofficial letter on the subject of the sovereignty of Sinai. I regard this question as supremely important - not at the moment but in years to come. May I enter more fully into the question than I was able to do yesterday.

We are very wise in allowing the Jews to establish their National Home in Palestine; we have also freed the Arabs from their Turkish yoke and we cannot forever remain in Egypt. This Peace Conference has laid two eggs - Jewish Nationalism and Arab Nationalism; these are going to grow up into two troublesome chickens; the Jew virile, brave, determined and intelligent. The Arab decadent, stupid, dishonest and producing little beyond eccentrics influenced by the romance and silence of the desert. The Jews, despite dispersal, have distinguished themselves in the arts, music and science and gave Britain one of its distinguished Prime Ministers.

In fifty years time both Jew and Arab will be obsessed with nationalism, the natural outcome of the President's self-determination. Nationalism prefers self-government, however dishonest and inefficient, to government by foreigners however efficient and beneficial. Nationalism moreover involves the freedom of the State but ignores the freedom of the individual; it is a sop to professional politicians and agitators, and may involve gross injustices to the people.

A National Home for the Jews must develop sooner or later into sovereignty; I understand that this natural evolution is envisaged by some members of H.M.G. Arab nationalism will also develop into sovereignty from Mesopotamia to Morocco.



Jewish and Arab sovereignty must clash. The Jew, if his immigration programme succeeds, must expand and that can only be accomplished at the expense of the Arab who will do his utmost to check the growth and power of a Jewish Palestine. That means bloodshed.

The British position in the Middle East today is paramount; the force of nationalism will challenge our position. We cannot befriend both Jew and Arab. My proposal is based on befriending the people who are more likely to be loyal friends - the Jews; they owe us a great deal and gratitude is a marked characteristic of that race. Though we have done much for the Arabs, they do not know the meaning of gratitude; moreover they would be a liability; the Jew would be an asset.

Palestine is the corner-stone of the Middle East; bounded on two sides by the desert and on one side by the sea, it possesses the best natural harbour in the Eastern Mediterranean; the Jews have moreover proved their fighting qualities since the Roman occupation of Jerusalem. The Arab is a poor fighter though an adept at looting, sabotage and murder.

I now come to Palestine's position vis-à-vis Egypt. The Egyptians, even with superior numbers, are no match for an inferior Jewish army. But as modern weapons - tanks and aircraft - develop, offensive power rests more and more on weapon proficiency than on human bravery and endurance. This is why I regard Egypt as Palestine's potential enemy.

With Jewish and Arab nationalism developing into sovereignty and with the loss of the Canal in 1966 (only 47 years hence) we stand a good chance of losing our position in the Middle East. My suggestion to you yesterday is a proposal to make our position in the Middle East more secure.

Previous to 1906 the Turkish-Egyptian frontier ran from Rafa in the north to the neighbourhood of Suez. The whole of eastern and southern Sinai was part of the Hedjaz province of the Ottoman Empire. In October 1906 Egypt was granted administrative rights in Sinai up to a line drawn from Rafa to the head of the Gulf of Akaba, Turkey expressly retaining the right of sovereignty. General Allenby with British forces, unaided by the Egyptian Army, conquered and occupied Turkish Sinai which, by right of conquest, is at Britain's disposal. This bare statement can be verified by the Foreign Office.

If Britain annexes Turkish Sinai, the following advantages accrue:

1. It establishes a buffer between Egypt and Palestine.
2. It gives Britain a strong foothold in the Middle East with access to both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.
3. It gives us room for a strategic base and, with Jewish consent, the best harbour in the Eastern Mediterranean.
4. It not only places us in a position whence we can frustrate any Egyptian move to close the Canal to British shipping, but it enables us to build a dual canal connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea.
5. No question of nationalism can arise in Sinai, as its nomad inhabitants are but a few thousand.

Signed

R.M.

(added later: "Philip Kerr acknowledged this letter, asking if I had any objection to it being sent to Curzon and Balfour for their comments. I replied that I had no objection. But I heard no more about it.

Philip Kerr told me later that Lloyd George had approached President Wilson on the subject of British sovereignty in Sinai and that the President was shocked as it ran contrary to his fourteen points and would leave Egypt with a permanent and righteous grievance against Britain. But I felt that Wilson's objection was based on fear of British influence in the Middle East being strengthened - the early stages of American jealousy of British supremacy which was much resented by American immaturity and lust for power.

I spoke to Eyre Crowe and Vansittart begging them to sound the Americans about it. They told me later that as the Americans are not at war with Turkey they were not interested but that they strongly deprecated parceling out Arab territory without the consent of the Arab inhabitants of Sinai. I thought that a fine exposure of ignorance. The Arabs of Sinai! A handful of nomads ignorant and careless of sovereignty and only wishing to be left alone in peace.")

30.V.1919. Paris

p.20/21

(added later: "In early 1915 a secret Anglo-French agreement allotted Alexandretta and Syria to France, whilst Britain retained Haifa and Palestine.

Under the Sykes-Picot Agreement concluded on May 16, 1916, France received Alexandretta, Syria, Lebanon and a large slice of Asia Minor, whilst Britain received the port of Haifa and Palestine. At the same time Sir Henry McMahon promised the Sherif of Mecca most of Syria including Damascus and most of Arabia. For a long time it was not clear if McMahon had promised Palestine to the Sherif, but in a letter to The Times he stated categorically many years later that he had not promised Palestine to the Sherif.")

3.VI.1919. Paris

p.21

(I shall propose)...that Allenby be told that the Balfour Declaration stands and that he so informs both Feisal and the Palestine Administration.

14.VI.1919. Paris

p.22

Yesterday I met an Italian called Bianchini who professed to be a keen Zionist and had just returned from a prolonged visit to Palestine. He poured out many complaints against the British Administration in Palestine, asserting that they are encouraging the Arabs to oppose Zionism, that the Arabs are being granted privileges denied to the Jews, that the police are corrupt and that the Jews regard the Administration as half-hearted regarding the National Home.

I also met Colonel Stirling of General Clayton's staff who confirmed Bianchini's statement, adding that Ronald Storrs is playing a double game, pretending to favour the Jews whilst intriguing against them.

It is clear that the political state of Palestine is unhappy and that is due to lack of a clear policy by H.M.G. and their failure to make it abundantly clear that the National Home is the declared policy of H.M.G. Also the Palestine Administration must be purged of those elements hostile to Zionism.

I have written a memorandum to the D.M.I. embodying these remarks.

Weizmann tells me that when he met Clemenceau with a view to enlisting his sympathy with the National Home, that he found him unsympathetic and remarked 'We Christians can never forgive the Jews for crucifying Christ', to which Weizmann remarked 'Monsieur Clemenceau, you know perfectly well that if Jesus of Nazareth were to apply for a visa to enter France, it would be refused on the grounds that he was a political agitator'.

30.VII.1919. Paris

p.24/25

I heard yesterday that I had been appointed Chief Political Officer for Palestine and Syria, on General Allenby's Staff, and that I am to take up the work as soon as possible. ...

I went and interviewed Balfour today; ... He said that he was an ardent Zionist and that His Majesty's Government was committed to Zionism as our policy in Palestine.

...He defined the policy of H.M.G. as follows: All development, industrial schemes of all kinds, and financial assistance must be based on the principle that Zionists are the Most-favoured Nation in Palestine. All preparatory work done before the final destiny of Palestine is settled must be similarly based on the same principle.

24.XII.1921. London

p.33/34

Today I lunched with Winston (Churchill). There were also present Freddie Guest, Shuckburgh and Lawrence.

...

This latter worthless Arab (Abdullah) has proved his worthlessness in Transjordan, but Lawrence still sees advantage to us in keeping him on there, drawing a huge salary for doing nothing. I interrupted the conversation by saying I thought Abdullah had better be removed and that we must administer Transjordan directly, as part of Palestine. Winston and Lawrence would not think of it.

20.XI.1955. London

p.43

(added later: "And so ends my reminiscences of Lawrence.")

"I arrived in Egypt on September 1, 1919, to take up my new duties, and write:")

I am Allenby's Political Officer for all occupied enemy territory including Syria, Palestine and Transjordan.

### Chapter III: Chief Political Officer

12.IX.1919

p.46/47

From: Meinertzhagen to Foreign Office.

Date 12.9.19

...

The ultimate aim of Feisal is, an Arab federation embracing Mesopotamia, and a Jewish Palestine, all under British mandate. ...

Their (the French) Syrian policy is based on Picot-Sykes agreement. They foster a contempt for Arabs' indulgence in active propaganda against Zionism and Arab movement.

(additions to p.10)

30.VII.1919  
p.24/25

I heard yesterday that I had been appointed Chief Political Officer for Palestine and Syria, on General Allenby's Staff, and that I am to take up the work as soon as possible. Not knowing anything of the nature of the work I shall be required to do, or of the policy I shall be required to administer, I went and interviewed Balfour today; bounced in to lunch.

He said that he was an ardent Zionist and that His Majesty's Government was committed to Zionism as our policy in Palestine. ...

...He defined the policy of H.M.G. as follows: All development, industrial schemes of all kinds, and financial assistance must be based on the principle that Zionists are the Most-favoured Nation in Palestine. All preparatory work done before the final destiny of Palestine is settled must be similarly based on the same principle. ...

He explained that in deciding the boundaries of Palestine, economic grounds must count much more than military or strategic considerations, and that if the water necessary for successful development lay as far north as the Litani and Hermon, then the Jews must include both these places in Palestine. The eastern boundary of Palestine must be up to but excluding the Hedjaz Railway.

26.IX.1919

p.49

General Headquarters,  
Egyptian Expeditionary Force,  
Cairo.  
26.9.1919.

My Lord (Curzon),

...

My inclination towards Jews in general is governed by an anti-semitic instinct which is invariably modified by personal contact. My views on Zionism are those of an ardent Zionist. The reasons which induced in me a fascination for Zionism are many and complex, but in the main were governed by the unsatisfactory state of the Jews of the world, the great sentimental attraction of re-establishing a race after banishment of 2,000 years ...

p.53

...Whilst on the other hand I am insisting on official recognition of Zionism as the established policy of H.M.G. and on its being the main factor in considering the many Palestine questions always arising, subject always, until the Treaty with Turkey is signed, to the administration being conducted according to the Laws and Usages of War.

I have the honour to be, etc.  
(sgd) R. Meinertzhagen  
Colonel.

10.XI.1919

p.59

(From a Dispatch to Lord Curzon)

...It is also known that the Vatican is violently opposed to Zionism, as has already been reported to your Lordship.

17.XI.1919.

p.61

General Headquarters,  
Egyptina Expeditionaly Force,  
November 17th, 1919

My Lord (Curzon)

I have the honour to approach you on the subject of the future boundaries of Palestine.

I note that M. Clemenceau in his memorandum of October 10th, 1919, in reply to your memorandum of September 13th, 1919, respecting Syria, claims in para.7 that the Palestine-Syrian frontier has been fixed by the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 and is in accordance with the interests of the two countries. This frontier, as you are aware, leaves the coast, south of Tyre, passes the north end of the Sea of Galilee, and thence across the Yarmuk valley to a point south of Deraa.







p.62

...

If these economic conditions are to be secured, the northern boundary should run from the sea, just north of the Litani River and following up, and at some distance from, the right bank, across it from west to east about the Litani gorges. The boundary should thence be guided by including those of the Hermon waters which flow into the Litani or Jordan basins. The Deauville Line, running as it does up the Litani Thalweg, neutralizes the water, and can only lead to disputes.

p.65

(added later: "At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, there was much discussion on the boundaries between Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Iraq. When asked what he considered the boundaries of Palestine, Lloyd George always answered 'Biblical Palestine, from Dan to Beersheba'. But nobody knew where Dan was. Small wonder, for Dan was a district and not a town. The present Kibbutz called Dan is somewhere about where the District Dan was situated.

In Paris, I repeatedly stressed the importance of the whole of the Jordan catchment-area remaining in Palestine, but French opposition, headed by Clemencesu, was adamant and, by order of Lloyd George, the subject was shelved for the moment. The Litani river and the inclusion of the Jordan catchment-area became known as the Meinertzhagen Line and is shown on the accompanying map as such.

The eventual northern boundary of Palestine fell far short of my hopes but it did include, more or less, the whole of Biblical Palestine including Moab (Transjordan).

In the accompanying map are shown the "Meinertzhagen Line", the eventual boundary of Mandated Palestine after the illegal severance of Transjordan and the area of Sinai which was conquered from the Turks in 1917, and was therefore at the disposal of Britain. The present Egyptian occupation of this area had no authoritative sanction.")

31.XII.1919. Cairo

p.66

It (Zionism) has been one continual up-hill struggle against prejudice, intrigue and ignorance. I am not sure that the world is not still too selfish to appreciate the worth of the merits of Zionist aims. The world is certainly too anti-semitic and too suspicious of Jewish brains and money.

p.67

I am not surprised that people think I must be a Jew, when I stand alone among Christians here as a friend to Zionism. And that is the irony of the whole situation, for I am also imbued with anti-semitic feelings, and would wish that Zionism could be divorced from Jewish Nationality. ...

6.I.1920. Cairo

p.68

I agree that in say sixty years the British Empire may be reduced to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and a few fortress islands. ...

...I firmly believe that in twenty to thirty years a Jewish Sovereign State will be established in Palestine. The Arabs will not like that and on all sides they will be attacked and I can see a big upheaval in the Middle East with ~~with~~ European States taking sides. Now, quite by chance, talking to Maule in 1917, I came across a solution of this problem. At the beginning of the century the Turko-Egyptian frontier ran from Suez to Rafa. In 1906, Turkey granted Egypt administrative rights up to the line Rafa-Aqaba. Allenby conquered the whole of Turkish-Sinai, therefore Sinai east of the line Suez-Rafa belongs to Britain and is at our disposal. I begged Allenby to put this up to the F.O. as if we occupy Sinai east of the line Suez-Rafa it gives us a stranglehold on the Canal, it creates a buffer between Egypt and Palestine, there is no indigenous population problem, we might even dig another canal between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Aqaba and it would give us an ideally situated garrison to protect our Trade to the Far East.

Allenby was most interested when I told him all this and has promised to put up the suggestion to the War Office.

I put this proposition to Lloyd George last year in Paris, but doubt if it sank in.

2.VI.1920. Port Said

p.86

Waters-Taylor's toxin had so worked on Bols's weak intellect and had so influenced both Allenby and Congreve, that they all became hopelessly infected with anti-Zionist and pro-Arab ideas. They placed Feisal and the Arabs on that pedestal of romance to which they are only entitled by their picturesque dress and some other attractive mannerisms.

p.88/89

I believe it (Zionism) to be a world force which will outlive its lawless cousin - Bolshevism - and I believe that Zionism will become a model for all communities on which to build a healthy prosperous State, immune from wars and civil strife.

Zionism need not waste its thanks on British Officials out here. They have all worked against it, hoping to crush it at its birth. I was sent out by the Foreign Office on this very account and found on my arrival that every man's hand was working against Zionism, some openly, others clandestinely.

## Chapter IV: Colonial Office

27.IV.1921. Tring

p.97

When in the Colonial Office I heard that Herbert Samuel had appointed Haj Amin al Husseini as Mufti of Jerusalem. His predecessor died last February. I had trouble with the man when I was in Jerusalem for with the connivance of Ronald Storrs and Waters-Taylor he was conducting violent anti-Zionist propaganda and during the Easter riots of 1920 he delivered incendiary speeches not only against the Jews but against the British, fled to Transjordan and was sentenced during his absence to ten years imprisonment, but later returned to Jerusalem on receiving an amnesty; I had much documentary evidence against Storrs and Waters-Taylor proving up to the hilt that he was receiving encouragement from these two highly placed officials, but Allenby declined to use it. And now he is in a position where he can do untold harm to Zionism and to the British; he hates both Jews and British. His appointment is sheer madness. I am particularly annoyed about this as before I left Palestine in 1920, I left a memorandum with Samuel warning him of appointing the man when it was obvious his predecessor was in failing health and also warning him that Storrs would press for his appointment purely on the grounds of hostility to Zionism.

Haj Amin is a strong character and if given a chance could do great harm; he is very ambitious, quite unscrupulous and grossly dishonest; sooner or later his appointment will be bitterly regretted by us.

15.VI.1921. London

p.98

...Churchill then turned to Palestine and outlined the Zionist policy to which he was most sympathetic and from which he expected great results. But the whole policy depended on a satisfactory and early peace settlement with Turkey. This matter was fundamental to his whole policy.

21.VI.1921. London

p.99/100

The atmosphere in the Colonial Office is definitely hebra-phobe, the worst offender being Shuckburgh who is head of the Middle East Department. Hubert Young and little Lawrence do their utmost to conceal their dislike and mistrust of the Jews but both strongly support the official pro-Arab policy of Whitehall and frown on the equally official policy based on the Balfour Declaration: the latter is the only policy I recognize.

I exploded on hearing that Churchill had severed Transjordan from Palestine in an interview in Jerusalem between him and Abdullah on March 27th this year. Apparently Abdullah was moving through Transjordan on his way to help Feisal's adherents in Damascus and make trouble for the French who turned Feisal out last year. Abdullah had to be placated

and met Churchill in Jerusalem; Abdullah was placated at the expense of the Jewish National Home which embraces the whole of Biblical Palestine. Lawrence was of course with Churchill and influenced him. So Abdullah was made Emir of Transjordan, was given a British adviser and a subsidy. Of course the man accepted at once. This reduces the Jewish National Home to one-third of Biblical Palestine. The Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration have now declared that the articles of the mandate relating to the Jewish Home are not applicable to Transjordan and that the severance of Transjordan from Palestine is in accordance with the terms of the McMahon pledge. This discovery was not made until it became necessary to appease an Arab Emir.

I told Shuckburgh I wished to see Churchill on the question; he said it would be no good as the matter was settled; so I rang up Eddy Marsh and told him I must see the S. of S. at once and down I went foaming at the mouth with anger and indignation. Churchill heard me out; I told him it was grossly unfair to the Jews, that it was yet another promise broken and that it was a most dishonest act, that the Balfour Declaration was being torn up by degrees and that the official policy of H.M.G. to establish a Home for the Jews in Biblical Palestine was being sabotaged; that I found the Middle East Department whose business it was to implement the Mandate, almost one hundred per cent hebra-phobe and could not the duration of Abdullah's Emirate in Transjordan be of a temporary nature, say for seven years, and a guarantee given that Abdullah should never be given sovereign powers over what was in fact Jewish territory. Churchill listened and said he saw the force of my argument and would consider the question. ...



5.VII.1921. London

p.101 Both the Pope and the French have identified themselves with the anti-Zionist movement.

p.102 Our main trouble is the apathy of our big men towards Zionism. Winston Churchill really does not care or know much about it. Balfour knows, and talks a lot of platitudes but his academic brain is unable to act in any practical way. Lloyd George has sporadic outbursts of keenness but fails to appreciate the value to us of Zionism or its moral advantages.

23.VII.1921. London

p.103 It interested me to see that both Lloyd George and Balfour realized that, when they subscribed to the Balfour Declaration, they had in mind a Jewish State as the ultimate aim of Zionism. Balfour's real motive was to remedy the unsatisfactory state of the Jews in the world. That he told me in Paris in 1919. Lloyd George was influenced entirely by sentiment and by his belief in the Old Testament. But Smuts tells me he was influenced, when he agreed to the declaration, by a desire to have the Jews on his side during the war. He appreciated their force in world politics, and thought that by making such a declaration he would enlist their help.

p.104 (From notes on conversation held at Mr. Balfour's house on July 22nd, 1921. Present: Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. A.J. Balfour, Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Maurice Hankey, Mr. Edward Russell, Dr. Weizmann.)

L.G. (Lloyd George) and A.J.B. (Balfour) both said that by the (Balfour) Declaration they always meant an eventual Jewish State.

\*)

14.VI.1922. London

p.116/117 I dislike this splitting up of the Middle East into a multitude of little Arab States each under its little king. It does not lead to stability. More than ever I resent the handing over of Transjordan, which is an integral part of Palestine, to an Arab ruler. Churchill is responsible for this grave error. It deprives the Jewish National Home of one of the best parts of Palestine and is bound to lead to trouble. The French are not going to last long in Syria and then we shall have yet another Arab State north of Palestine and the Jews will be entirely encircled by bitter enemies, which places them in a precarious position. I trust I live to see an Independent Jewish State in Palestine; their survival will be precarious surrounded by enemies; but the Jews are good fighters.

20.VI.1922. London

p.117 Churchill sent for me to-day; I found little Lawrence with him, grinning from ear to ear and clearly very pleased with himself. Winston was also in affable mood. He told me the subject under discussion was security in Transjordan and Iraq and the ability of Feisal and Abdullah to maintain control when, as is inevitable, our advisers and troops are withdrawn. ...

---

\*) 9.II.1922. London

p.115 ...If we abandon the Canal we should insist on our right to occupy what was Turkish Sinai.

... And as for Abdullah, another upstart placed there by Lawrence and given a kingdom at the expense of Palestine. Transjordan is part of Biblical Palestine which had been promised to the Jews. Lawrence exploded - Transjordan was Arab territory and had nothing to do with Palestine. I pointed out that both Transjordan and Iraq would drive their little Hashemite kings out when they felt strong enough to do it. You cannot foist foreigners on countries as kings.

p.118

I reverted to Transjordan and urged that Abdullah's tenure should cease; that eventually the Jews would attain sovereignty in Palestine and I did not wish them to be surrounded on all sides by hostile Arabs; moreover, as the Jewish population increased, they would require more land. 'At the expense of the Arab,' said Lawrence. 'No', I said. 'There are thousands of acres in Transjordan lying fallow and unoccupied owing to Arab laziness.'

Winston said he could do nothing about Transjordan and that Abdullah had come to stay. Grins from Lawrence. I said, 'He'll stay until a bullet gets him'. Silence. Then Winston - to me - 'You do not think that either Feisal or Abdullah can last if we withdraw support?' I said I was sure they could not last as they were upstarts from a decadent family and even the Arab worm might turn. 'Well,' said Winston, 'we've got to try.'

5.VII.1922. London

p.118/119

On June 22nd, there was a debate in the House of Lords on the subject of the Palestine Mandate, and by a majority of sixty Lords an adverse vote was recorded. It was remarkable that Balfour not only made his debut in the House of Lords on the same night, but he actually was fathering the Mandate. Such an adverse vote would appear rather alarming to Zionists, as it is an attempt to reverse the whole Zionist Policy, but in effect the result is nil. The power of the modern House of Lords is the power of an air bubble. ...

Last night the Palestine Mandate came before the House of Commons, and a motion criticizing it and the Kutenberg concession was rejected by 292 to thirty-five votes. The House of Commons have therefore directly reversed the House of Lords resolution by an overwhelming majority. No doubt is left by this vote of the House of Commons that in their Palestine Policy His Majesty's Government have the support of the country. Fortified by this we should not have much difficulty in getting the Palestine Mandate through the League of Nations.

22.VII.1922. London

p.119

To-day is a great day for the Zionists. The Palestine Mandate was passed by the League of Nations sitting in St. James's Palace. Weizmann and his wife asked Annie and me to celebrate the event by dining with them at the Carlton. ...

p.120

(added later: "Giving the Jews the opportunity to build their national home in Palestine was the wisest and most constructive act of statesmanship resulting from the First World War; it was also a first-class example of the principle of self-determination and democratic government;")

6.VII.1923. London

p.131/132

I have been working on a more comprehensive paper for the Cabinet regarding the strategic importance of Palestine. It seems clear that sooner or later our position in Egypt will become impossible unless the Suez Canal is made an International Waterway under the control of an international commission. Egypt will never surrender her sovereignty of the Suez Canal except under pressure from the great powers and even if she did it would always be a festering sore in the Middle East. But she might allow us bases in perpetuity in Sinai and these, in conjunction with similar bases in Palestine, would guarantee the defence of the Canal which Egypt herself will never be strong enough to protect.

I have always regarded Palestine as the key to Middle East Defence. I therefore approached Weizmann last week with a view to ascertain whether, when and if Palestine becomes a Jewish Sovereign State, Great Britain would be granted air, naval and military bases in Palestine in perpetuity. Moreover the Jews can be relied on to keep agreements, the Arabs can never be relied on. ... But he agreed subject to the Jews being granted the whole of Biblical Palestine; this would involve a stand-up row with the Arabs, but that is bound to happen some day; why not now? Abdullah should be told that his Emirate is temporary and expires at his death. With British Bases in Palestine our position in the Middle East is secure for ever.

p.133

...Appeasement again. We are backing the wrong horse and, my God, we shall suffer for it if and when another war is sprung on us.

(added later: from a private letter to Sir Herbert Samuel on July 18th, 1923: "...When I consider the consequences of an attempt to further inflame the opposition to Zionism and to belittle the preference which the Mandate gives to the Jews in Palestine, I wonder at the great responsibility which your position has given you. The making or destruction of a great Nation on the chaotic ruin of centuries, the destinies of millions of as yet unborn Jewish children, and the predominance of Jewish culture not only in Palestine, but throughout the Middle East, are all at stake.")

12.VII.1925. London

p.135

Today we had our meeting with the Committee of Imperial Defence on the subject of the strategic importance of Palestine.

...  
The War Office held the view - and correctly so - that we cannot afford to abandon the Suez Canal. I again introduced



our claim to the sovereignty of Sinai east of the Rafa-Suez line, which would solve the whole question of the Canal, but nobody would listen; they'll regret it.

## Chapter V: The Mandate

1.VI.1925. Kashmir

p.136/137

Today is the time fixed for the opening of the Jewish University in Jerusalem by Lord Balfour. I offered up a silent prayer that the University might sow the seeds of a political and national Zionism which would eventually dominate the Middle East from Sinai to Syria and east to Iraq or even further, constituting a strong healthy state and a cornerstone in the British Commonwealth. ...

...I prayed for the success of political and national Zionism for this reason and also because it will give nationhood and peace to a sore-afflicted race whose position in the world for the last 2,000 years has been a disgrace to civilization.

3.III.1927. London

p.137

...Sooner would I regard Zionism as an ideal which it has been my country's fortune to establish. I would regard it as the fulfilment of a prophecy, as the rescuing of one of the world's greatest peoples from a position which was becoming intolerable and which was a disgrace to the civilized world. By establishing Zionism, Great Britain has paid a debt which the world owes to Jewry for its culture, its abilities and its influence in the world. It is also no small matter that Great Britain should have been given the Mandate for Palestine, a land of so many sacred associations for the whole of Europe.

11.XI.1927. London

p.138

Last night I attended a dinner at the Savoy Hotel, given by the Anglo-Palestinian Club to Lord Balfour on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

...Ormsby Gore replied for the Government and spoke admirably. He was optimistic about the future of Zionism. He struck the right note when he said he thought that Palestine would not become the spiritual home only of the Jews but of the whole world. I believe this to be true. It is an irony that it should be given to the Jews, who crucified Christ, to build up for the world a spiritual home.

p.139/140

...I wondered what would have been Christ's feelings had he been present and what his criticism would have been. I am convinced that he would have blessed the proceedings. To give back to the people who crucified him their heritage is surely a most Christian act. ...

...Of all the post-war reparations, Zionism is the greatest in its attempt to repair the great wrong done to the Jews during the last 2,000 years.

1.IX.1929. Wales

p.140 (from a letter dated 29.8.1929 to Sidney Webb, then Secretary of State for the Colonies:)

...The Mufti's letter in "The Times" of 27 instant is a cruel, inhuman document, full of inaccuracies and typifies the Arab attitude toward the Jew of Palestine. It must be almost unique in modern history for the religious head of a community whose hands were still dripping with the blood of murder, to excuse his followers on the grounds of 'Landlordism', and without a single gesture of regret.

p.141

The Jews have been granted a home in their old country, after 2,000 years of deplorable exile. We have assumed trusteeship and have accepted the responsibility of assisting them in establishing themselves in their home. We have undertaken to see that they get fair play, and, as I read the Mandate, the Jews are placed in the position of 'most-favoured-nation' in Palestine, always provided that Arab civil and religious rights are not prejudiced. ...

...

British sympathy is with the Arab and not with the Jew, largely because Zionism, its objects and possibilities, are misunderstood, and because the Arab is surrounded by a halo of picturesque romance. The Arab, his wild, savage nature, his lack of intelligence, his backward state and his connection with the romantic desert will always appeal to the British character in preference to the hard-headed, hard-thinking, practical Jew, bristling with troublesome problems and determined to get that to which he has a right by treaty and covenant. The Arab has not been slow to appreciate this fact and take full advantage of it.

p.142

(regarding the riots in Jerusalem at Easter, 1920)

...It has been a deliberate, planned attack by an armed community on an unarmed community whose sole sin is availing themselves of sacred privileges granted them by covenant. ...

...The Jew in Palestine has not received that measure of protection and sympathy to which he is entitled. The Arab would never risk trouble if he knew without a shadow of doubt that the subconscious sympathy of the bulk of the Palestine Administration was not behind him.

The Arab is often depicted as a fiery fanatic, prepared to die for a cause. The war inflated and burst that bubble. He is an admirable looter, a jackal among mortals, but quickly and surely understands authority and respects strength. If the Arab were convinced that Downing Street and every member of the Palestine Administration were determined to carry out government in the spirit of the Mandate, we should have perpetual peace in Palestine.

19.XI.1930. London

p.144/145

I reply to a letter to "The Times" by Lord Lloyd:

...Finally, as there is so much controversy regarding the application of Zionism, let me quote what Lord Balfour told the writer in Paris on July 30th, 1919, on the eve of taking up the appointment of Chief Political Officer in Palestine. Lord Balfour was asked for a definition of his famous declaration and our future policy. He replied:

All development, industrial schemes of all kinds, and financial assistance must be based on the principle that Jews are the most-favoured nation in Palestine. All preparatory work undertaken before the final destiny of Palestine is settled must be similarly based on this principle.

...

Zionism has come to stay. To attempt to interfere with Jewry is to interfere with history. His Majesty's Government and enemies of Zionism can delay the ultimate destiny of Palestine, but they cannot prevent its ultimate fulfilment.

27.X.1932. London

p.147

Palestine is a country of miracles but nowadays the fulfilment of a miracle depends on two things. First, much and continuous hard work. Second, the immediate grasping of the opportunity when it arises. Thus will a Jewish Sovereign State come into being and prevail over enemies who strive to destroy her.

3.III.1933. London

p.148

...Weizmann in his address emphasized the fact that Transjordan was much larger than Palestine but was derelict and barren, requiring a grant in aid from Great Britain, and this he attributed to the fact that the Jews had not yet penetrated thus far. ...

...

Zionism has now come to stay. It is no longer an experiment but a living fact and the greatest achievement of the war, no less in importance than smashing German militarism. Zionism, in spite of consistent obstruction from the Colonial Office and local officials, in spite of Arab objections, can now march forward till it reaches its ultimate goal, a Jewish State in Palestine, eventually spreading to Transjordan and Syria. In my dreams I see a contented, prosperous Jewish State, bound by sacred ties to Great Britain, a corner-stone of the Middle East, and holding sway between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. I shall never see this, but it will come.

10.VII.1955. London

p.153/154

...Weizmann wishes me to go to Germany to get these disabilities removed (curtailing of certain rights to the Jews). I have agreed to go to Berlin and have a try on the condition that my conversations are confined to Palestine emigrants and do not touch on the purely domestic question of the treatment of the Jews in Germany. ...

...He (Weizmann) says he would sooner see the German Jew go under altogether than see Palestine lost to the Jews, for the Holy Land is something more than holy to him and his people. At times he feels the urge of violence, an inclination towards murder and sabotage, and a violent revolution by the Jews of the world against existing organization of society. The Jews are the embodiment of international socialism and I can easily conceive in many years to come that if they increase their power much more they may succeed in establishing Jewish States in more places than Palestine. That would be definitely bad for the world. But Jewish dominance is already arising in many professions and trades and, if unchecked, will spread to politics and governments. This is the danger against which Germany is fighting and it is this danger which impels anti-semitism and persecution. Wherever and whenever Jewish dominance arises and threatens to overwhelm non-Jewish communities, there will be persecution and the Jew will be thrust forcibly back; everywhere except in Palestine; in that country the Jew and everything Jewish can flourish and expand unchecked.

15.VII.1935. Berlin

p.154

During my conversation with Hitler, I broached the subject of the Jews in Germany. The effect was remarkable. The man changed from sanity to insanity, the face changed from normal to ferocity, the voice from an almost whisper to a shout, even the hair became untidy, fists hammering the table and eyes aflame with hatred. I was subjected to a Reichstag speech in miniature. It became clear that I should get no further with the Jewish question when dealing with Hitler, so I decided to switch over to Ribbentrop. To my relief, my conversation with Hitler was brought to an end by the arrival of Hess, a hurried whisper and off ~~went~~ went Adolph.

21.VII.1935. Berlin

p.156/157

The position of the Jews in Germany is indeed pitiable and a disgrace to Germany. It is a living death. ... There is no escape. Most countries are closed against Jewish immigration. In their natural home, Palestine, the authorities require that immigrants have substantial financial resources and a trade or craft. The Jew in Germany has neither.



p.158

I scarcely touched on the larger question of the treatment of Jews remaining in Germany. It is a domestic question and they did not like my talking officially on the subject. Yesterday, in Berlin, on a Government notice board I saw the following write-up:

'Wer den Juden kennt, kennt den Teufel.'

...

My own view is that the German has a perfect right to treat the Jew as an alien and deny him German citizenship. He even has a right to expel him from Germany; but it must be done decently and with justice; such a policy would take years to fulfil. Instead of which German policy aims at making it impossible for the Jews either to remain or get out of Germany.

p.158/159

...The Jews have without doubt attained an ascendancy in Germany in many trades and professions, and without doubt much of the communist influence is Jewish. The Jews are international and mainly international socialists, directly opposed to the extreme form of nationalist Nazi socialism. Small wonder then that modern Germany has found them distasteful, and with typical hard-headed tactlessness and frightfulness, Germany is now trying to eradicate the Jews from Germany.

28.VI.1939. Berlin

p.159/160

Dufour telephoned after breakfast saying that Hitler wished to see me at 11 a.m. I nearly refused for I did not feel like seeing the man. However, off I went to the Chancellerie and took the precaution of placing a loaded automatic in my pocket so that I could prove 'opportunity' to kill the man. Since I saw him last, my opinion of him has altered. He means to have his war; he means to kill millions to satisfy his lust for power; his war will involve the whole world and whoever wins will lose.... I cannot conceive why the man wished to see me.

I had ample opportunity to kill both Hitler and Ribbentrop and am seriously troubled about it. If this war breaks out, as I feel sure it will, then I shall feel very much to blame for not killing these two; on the other hand I am quite sure that if I killed them both there would be no war and I should be written off as a madman. But I did satisfy myself that I had the opportunity to kill them both. ...

...But I'm worried, very worried. First, war seems inevitable. Second, I might have stopped it.

25.X.1934. London

p.161/162

The subject of debate this evening was the Jew and Arab in Palestine. All speakers advocated the raising up of the Arab to Jewish level, equality, employment of Jews by Arabs, equal political status, and so on and so forth. The wonders of the Arabs were trumpeted forth by Jews. It made me sick to listen to such humbug and hypocrisy. All eye-wash. The Jew knows better than I do that the Palestine Arab will never reach the Jewish standard of ability in any sense. The Jew will always be on top and he means to be there. He looks forward to a Jewish State in Palestine with sovereign rights, a real National Home and not a sham Jewish-Arab confederation. The Jew knows perfectly well that the Mandate was given him to enable him to establish himself nationally in Palestine, not with the Arab, but over him. If the Zionists are really going to try to educate the Arab up to Jewish standard and welcome him as an equal brother, then Zionism is going to fail and trickle out into a hybrid state, unstable and worthless. If the Jew attempts to dilute pure Jew with Arab, he signs his death warrant. If all I heard tonight is hypocrisy, then I am disgusted with the Jews. I told them all this tonight and must have 'dropped a brick' for they received it in cold silence. I was annoyed with them, and I think they are now annoyed with me. I shall have something to say to Weizmann on the subject when we meet.

I think Jewish opinion is divided on the subject. The Jews are curious people. They fight like cats and dogs among themselves but if anyone tries to do anything to a Jew, they always show a united front to the aggressor. Like quarrelsome husbands and wives, they play Hell with each other, but God help anyone who tries to play Hell with either of them.

22.X.1936. London

p.162

This evening I dined with the Paladin Club, an Arab called Ghory being the guest. ... He made the wildest claims on behalf of the Arabs and his argument was unconvincing. I spoke after him.

I explained that no promise has ever been made to the Arabs of Palestine by H.M.G., except that their rights should be respected. They were not our Allies during the war, but murderous jackals of the Turkish Army. I pointed out that though the Arabs had been in Palestine for nigh 2,000 years they had done nothing with the country; and also that the Arabs differ from all other nationalities in having several kings and several kingdoms (Iraq, Transjordan, Egypt, Morocco, Arabia, etc.), not to mention the smaller ones like Muscat, Kuwait etc.

Ghory complained that the Arabs in Palestine were not allowed to fly their national flag or sing their national anthem. Was ever such rot talked? What is the Arab flag or anthem? Ghory was unable to tell me. ...The time is not far distant when I hope to see a Jewish State in Palestine, the undoubted meaning of the Balfour Declaration.

p.163

The Royal Commission is on its way to Palestine. If there is any paring down of the gift we gave to Jewry during the war, a gift which was but the realization of a promise given to the Jews by the Almighty long before the Arabs entered Palestine, then we must not be surprised, indeed we must expect Jewry to insist on their pound of meat. It will be a civil war of the bloodiest type, racial and religious. And I doubt if the Jews will ever get Palestine without considerable bloodshed.

18.V.1937. Afghanistan

p.163

...I must admit the Jews' place in this world is terrible. Every man's hand is against them, no home, scarce a friend, degraded, despised and persecuted. They wonder at the hatred they have aroused during the last two thousand years. I don't. But I am intensely sorry for them and would do almost anything to improve their lot.

23.VII.1937. London

p.163-165

The Palestine Peel Commission has published its report, the basis of which is that Zionism in its present form is unworkable and they suggest that the Holy Land be partitioned out between the Jews, Arabs and British. ...

...  
My own view is that partition spells ruin for Zionism and on many grounds is dangerous. ...but it would be safe to say that a disjointed and discontented Palestine means not only a weak Palestine but almost a lost Palestine, lost to us and lost to the Jews.

The arguments in favour of persisting on the integrity of Palestine and the maintenance of the National Home are many. ...

...  
The so-called promises made to the Arabs during and after the war have been exploded, in spite of misleading constructions placed on them by some of "The Times" correspondents. Moreover, during the Palestine campaign, the Arabs contributed nothing to our victory. They were the jackals of the Turkish Army. The Turks knew them well enough to use them as Labour Units and nothing else. Also, little mention has been made of the promise made by the British Government to the Jews, a promise which only confirmed a greater Promise made at the beginning of time.

Geographically, Palestine and Transjordan are one. They never should have been separated nor was their present status ever intended. Transjordan was 'jumped' with the connivance of certain British officials, and Churchill.

The artificial partitioning of the Holy Land must be repugnant to many who, like myself, regard that country as something quite unique and indivisible.



6.XII.1937. London

p.165/166

I attended a discussion this evening on the Partition of Palestine as recommended by the Peel Commission. I was disgusted at the general trend of thought on that thorny subject. All speakers took it for granted that partition was inevitable whilst producing every argument against it. All sorts of variants of partition were suggested, all evil and unworkable. ...

...

In my opinion the Peel Commission have made the Zionist problem infinitely worse than it was when the commission started work. They have complicated the problem and what their proposal boils down to is a further whittling down of the area allotted to the Jews for their National Home. The original idea was a Palestine including Transjordan and bounded on the north by the Litani River. Lloyd George weakened on that point and gave the French a large slice of northern Palestine. Then Abdullah, with the connivance of H.M.G., jumped Transjordan and that was lost. Now it is proposed to give the Jews just a small strip of coastal Palestine. Where is this policy of whittling to cease?

The partitioning of the Holy Land must be repugnant to many like myself who regard the country as unique, indivisible and as a sacred entity. We might as well suggest splitting the Holy Bible, giving the Jews the Old Testament. The partition of Palestine is no less fantastic.

And if split up into three States, who is going to police the frontiers. Who is going to prevent the restless and fanatical Arabs raiding the Jews? ...

...

God, how we have let the Jews down. And if we are not careful we shall lose the eastern Mediterranean, Iraq and everything which counts in the Middle East.

And how I blame the British Administration which has sided unduly with the Arabs. But though it encouraged the Arabs to resist Zionism, they were not grateful to the British. The Arabs regarded British politeness and sympathy as weakness. It has been remarkable that Arab delegations have approached the British Government and the British Public as though they were the representatives of a conqueror dictating terms, instead of realizing that they were in fact merely the jackals of a nation fairly beaten in war. The Arabs forget the many instances where we have enabled Arab States to gain their independence and yet they deny this small bit of country to the Jews, who at one time owned it.

p.167-169

(From my letter to "The Times" dated February 7th, 1938)

... The Peel Commission completely lost sight of the original intention of the British Government to give the Jews their national home in Palestine (not in a little bit of Palestine).

The original geographical conception of Zionism was a Palestine including Transjordan and bounded on the north by the Litani River. Mr. Lloyd George weakened on that point and gave the French a large slice of Northern Palestine. Then Abdullah, with the connivance of H.M.G., jumped Transjordan and that was lost. Now still more is snatched from the Jews. Where is this whittling policy to stop?

The partitioning of the Holy Land must be repugnant to many like myself who regard that country as indivisible, unique, and as a sacred entity. ... Why create a Polish Corridor in Palestine?

Let there be no doubt on this point. Partition means loss, and the strategic importance of Palestine is immense. With Palestine lost to the Commonwealth, how do we stand in the Mediterranean? It is no exaggeration to say that Palestine is the corner-stone of our Eastern possessions. Is this realized by those who welcome a partitioned and weakened Palestine?...

...And my advice to the Jews is never to lose sight of the fact that Palestine includes the area from Dan to Beersheba and in fact the country occupied by the twelve tribes after their exodus. History shows that if a determined people know what they want and mean to get it success is theirs. And if the British people awaken to the crippling effect of a lost Palestine public and official opinion might be less anti-Zionist and more understanding not only of Jewish claims but of British interests.

27.VI.1938. London

p.170

We agreed that anti-semitism is spreading in Britain; due to mass immigration of refugees from Nazi persecution. It is a most disturbing sign but only too true. The Jewish question seems insoluble and I am terribly sorry for them. A Nation without a home, no country they can call their own when the Arabs have more land than they know what to do with.

24.VII.1938. London

p.170

...Jewish persecution in Germany and Austria goes unabated amid daily protests from our politicians and Press. A complete answer to persecution was in our hands. We have frittered away one of the greatest opportunities we have ever had. We began by dividing a country not larger than Wales; we gave the Arabs the idea that our heart was not in Zionism; we encouraged rebellion and then

(addition to p.26)

p.167-169

(after: "a partitioned and weakened Palestine?):

...The fate of Zionism is in the balance and with it goes our good name and our position in the Mediterranean. It is for us to decide whether we shall implement the Balfour Declaration (which, after all, was but the re-affirmation of a still greater promise) and give justice to a nation which has suffered injustices for 2,000 years; or whether we shall allow Zionism to shrink into a discontented and insignificant dream. The former to our immense advantage, the latter to our shame and undoing.

Much has been written about injustice to the Arabs. There is nothing in a Jewish State which conflicts with Arab rights. And moreover, be it remembered that the Arabs are the only nation in the world with at least three kings and several sovereign States. The Jews are a nation without a home. Also the Balfour Declaration cannot be separated from the treaties following the Great War. The Arabs of Palestine, far from contributing anything towards ultimate victory, actively opposed us and deserve no better treatment than others. The so-called promises made to the Arabs have received sufficient exposure in your columns.

The following solution is advocated. Immediate reversion to the Mandate and that the Arabs be informed that the Balfour Declaration stands, its ultimate aim being a Jewish sovereign State in Palestine. And my advice to the Jews is ... etc. (see p.26)

let it get out of hand; we then advocate further partition, we again hesitate, send out further commissions. And all that is wanted is foresight, wisdom and strength. Our politicians seem to have none of these. ...

...Quite the most disgraceful incident committed by Wauchope and his staff was allowing the Mufti to escape from Jerusalem. ... He passed from political propaganda to active murder and still nothing was done.

p.171/172

The Jewish question in Germany and the same question in Palestine have never been squarely faced by our Government. The two are inseparable. We clearly cannot interfere in Germany, but we can help in Palestine. The Nazis mean to eradicate Judaism from Germany and they will succeed. Nobody loves the Jews, nobody wants them and yet we are pledged to give them a home in Palestine. Instead we slam the door in their faces just at the moment when it should be wide open. We even whittle down their home at a moment when we should enlarge it. The action of H.M.G. in Palestine is very near to that of Hitler in Germany. They may be more subtle, they are certainly more hypocritical, but the result is similar - insecurity, misery, exasperation and murder.

There has recently been sitting at Evian a conference to try to find a way out. Winterton had the audacity to say that H.M.G. have done their best, they cannot do more. What humbug and hypocrisy. Various suggestions have been made to assist Jewish immigration to countries other than Palestine. Zionism without Zion is nothing at all. The Jews want a Home not an apartment.

What colossal humbug the Balfour Declaration now sounds. 'View with favour' and 'best endeavours to facilitate'. All constructive effort has come from the Jews. They have had a constant uphill fight against British officialdom since 1919 in defiance of favours and facilities.

There may be a way out of this ghastly mess if only H.M.G. would do it, but they are such a jelly-bellied lot of kittens, that I despair. Just at this moment the French would support us in anything. Ask them to hand over the Mufti and then let us together go to the Arabs, lay our cards on the table and insist on Jewish sovereignty in Palestine. If any Arabs have doubts about it, let them go to the large Arab territories bordering Palestine after full compensation. I believe two or three millions would buy the lot out. And how willingly I would buy out an Arab family if I knew the land went for ever to Zionism. And thousands of Englishment would do likewise to settle the Jewish question once and for all.

28.IX.1938. London

p.172

...It is widely known now that both Downing Street and Jerusalem are very apathetic about Zionism and would gladly throw it overboard. It is a standing disgrace and we shall suffer for it in the end. It is as much a betrayal of the Jews as has been Hitler's persecution in Germany.

19.XII.1938. London

p.173/174

Had supper with Weizmann. ...

...

Weizmann has also been told that H.M.G. can do nothing for Zionism so long as the two bogies Hitler and Mussolini are on the stage. H.M.G. regard a world war as inevitable and after that they hope once again to promise Palestine to the Jews if the war is successful; if we are beaten, then, of course, there will be no Palestine nor any Jews. So Weizmann is asked to wait - play for time - and meanwhile H.M.G. will do nothing (they are experts at that) and await with complacency the next war. My God, what a policy.

13.II.1939. Washington, D.C.

p.175

...Just because H.M.G. are afraid of a hostile Arab community in the forthcoming war. They seem to forget that a friendly Palestine in Jewish hands is infinitely more important than all the hostility of all the Arabs in the world. The Arabs are just a pack of pariahs who would come to heel at once if a strong hand were shown.

p.176/177

My letter to "The Times", 3rd June, 1939.

#### GOVERNMENT AND PALESTINE PROMISES TO KING HUSSEIN

To the Editor of "The Times",

...

May I take this opportunity to point out what is not generally realized by persons who regard Palestine as definitely promised to an Arab State? The crucial paragraph of Sir Henry McMahon's letter of October 24th, 1915, reads: 'The portion of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab and should be excluded from the proposed limits and boundaries.' Mr. Churchill (1922) when Secretary of State for the Colonies, says: 'The portion of Syria lying to the west of the District of Damascus ... has always been regarded by His Majesty's Government as covering ... the independent Sanjak of Jerusalem.' Further, Sir Henry McMahon has stated that Palestine was not, in his opinion, included in his territorial promises to King Hussein.

Let it also be noted that territorial promises were made to King Hussein and not to the Arabs in Palestine, with whom we were at war. It is clear from the McMahon Correspondence that King Hussein's aim was an Arab State, with him at the helm, reaching from Persia to the Red Sea and from Aleppo



to Aden. That dream had never been fulfilled in any respect, though those who insist on Arab rights as expressed in the McMahon letters ignore Syria, Transjordan, and Iraq, shorn from King Hussein's crown during his lifetime, while insisting on Arab claims to Palestine alone. One cannot help wondering what the attitude of the champions of the Arabs would have been if any other race than Jews had been granted a home in that visionary Arab Kingdom.

There can be no escaping from these facts:

- (a) We have dishonoured our promises to the Jews at a moment when they of all people on earth require help and consideration. After twenty years of incredible expense and effort in Palestine the Jews are asked to abandon their National Home at the bidding of violence.
- (b) By abandoning the Jewish National Home we are throwing away the key to the Eastern Mediterranean at a moment when that again is vital.
- (c) The policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to Palestine is similar in quality to the Munich Agreement - appeasement to the aggressor at the expense of a people who cannot help themselves.

...

15.IX.1939. London

p.179

...Thanks to General Wauchope, he (the Mufti) was allowed to escape to Syria when he should have been arrested and ever since he had been conducting a campaign of murder in Palestine.

12.VI.1946. London

p.181

...Meanwhile Ibn Saud has offered the Mufti asylum in Arabia. Now is our chance to get the man and shoot him; it would solve the whole Arab problem in one stroke, for they despise weakness and admire strength, but Whitehall will never get beyond the talking stage.

20.XI.1939. London

p.182

Weizmann asked my opinion about Palestine some day becoming part of an Arab Federation. I fear I have no faith in any form of co-operation with the Arabs. They are a rotten, effete lot. No such federation would stand the test of practical administration. Jews and Arabs never can and never will mingle. But Turk and Jew would and I regard Turkey as the prime factor in the future of Zionism.

29.III.1940. London

p.183

...This was the first occasion on which I found Weizmann inclined to go for the big thing and demand a Jewish Sovereign State, a move I advocated in 1919.

24.IV.1940. London

p.183

Weizmann dined with us this evening. ... But if Jews are going to gain a predominating influence in this country, in professions, in trades, in universities and museums, in finance and as landowners, then of course we shall have to act against them, but it will not take the form of the concentration camp.

22.X.1940. London

p.184

The importance of this Jewish Army is political. Churchill realizes its implications. At the close of the war it will find itself somewhere near Palestine and that means a Jewish State. Weizmann of course works with that goal in mind. It is what we should have had twenty years ago and by now we might have had half a million Jews in Palestine capable of marching into Syria and settling the Middle East question once and for all.

27.IX.1942

p.186

(From a letter to "The Times" of 27.9.42 for a Jewish Army and against objection by the British Government)

... The main arguments used against the raising of this force are that the Jews are not fighting men. This can be dismissed as utterly contemptible.

23.VII.1943. London

p.187/188

...For the first time he (Weizmann) openly demanded Jewish sovereignty in Palestine. He branded Ronald Storrs as an anti-Zionist for the first time, having formerly regarded him as neutral and harmless. Storrs has for twenty-three years given lip-service to Zionism and though I realized in 1919 that he was playing a double game, it has taken all these years for Weizmann to find him out. Weizmann no longer referred to the Arabs as 'brothers' but as professional political saboteurs. ...

...At the Peace Conference after this war we shall have another and final opportunity to give the Jews full sovereignty in Palestine. I urged Weizmann to-day to strike for nothing less. Provided the U.S.A., Turkey and Russia will support the claim, the British Government with their anti-semitic leanings will after almost thirty years have to give way to justice for the Jews. It will be no light task. Anti-semitism is rampant both here and in the U.S.A. and is on the increase to our everlasting shame. There should have been a special clause in the Atlantic Charter dealing with the Jewish Question for it is a major problem in post-war settlement and demands redress. A sovereign Jewish Palestine would be a great asset to the gentiles and indeed to the whole world. Jewish contributions to world civilization have been huge. A Jewish Palestine would increase that contribution and give it permanent shape.



30.IX.1945. London

p.189

...One of the main arguments used against Zionism is that Palestine is much too small for the Jews of the world. Of course it is. But, in the first place, all the Jews in the world will not go to live in Palestine, any more than all the British reside in Britain. And, in the second place, once the Jews got Palestine, and the 'blocking' influence of the British Government was removed, they could get what they want by negotiation direct with Syria, Transjordan and Egypt. Transjordan should never have been severed from Palestine for it is Palestine. Abdullah is a mere upstart, a useless figure-head and could not maintain himself for an instant without British bayonets. He has no more right to Transjordan than I have. The idea of Jewish sovereignty in Palestine would of course raise a terrific howl from the Arabs and their British supporters, but they would accept such a decision from an Allied Peace Conference. Of course, there would be riots and much blather about injustice but what about injustice to the Jews who have suffered more in the last ten years than the Arabs have in the past 2,000?

28.IV.1944. London

p.190/191

...Partition has been suggested, an evil compromise satisfying nobody. It is no solution. Complaints are heard that the Zionists should come to a workable agreement with the Arabs. That is impossible as the Arabs do not wish for an agreement which is tainted with any suggestion of a Jewish National Home. Palestine is at present volcanic. Violence is rife and Jews are killing British officials in protest and frustration. These culprits are not gangsters but fanatics made desperate by the vacillations and broken promises of the British ...

...

The only solution is the gift of Palestine to Jewry.

...

Those Arabs who dislike the solution can be compensated and moved elsewhere. It is claimed that this would be a great injustice to the Arabs. The arguments for and against this contention are manifold and interminable. One hears little about injustice to the Jews. Surely a settlement of the Jewish Question, affecting the Jews of the World, is slight injustice to a handful of Arabs who already have a country many hundred times greater than Palestine.

28.IV.1944. London

p.191/192

...I am glad to say he (Weizmann) is now convinced that a sovereign Jewish Palestine is the only solution. I asked him why he had previously favoured partition under the Peel plan. He told me that he had done so

28.IV.1944. London

p.190/191

...Many constructions have been put on it (the Balfour Declaration) but both Lloyd George and Balfour told me in 1919 that their own interpretation was that ultimate Jewish sovereignty in Palestine was the intended goal of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. ...

...Partition has been suggested, ... etc. (see p.31)

because at the time he knew that war was inevitable and he thought that if there was only a small Jewish Palestine, the Jews might have gained by conquest what they wanted in a general world war. Now that opportunity has passed he is against partition or compromise and wants an undivided Sovereign Jewish State in Palestine.

18.XI.1944. Berkshire.

p.193/194

Churchill spoke yesterday in the House of Commons on the murder of Lord Moyne and its effect on Zionism. I regard his statement as grossly unjust and as using the action of a small desperate gang of exasperated Jews to whip the whole of Jewry. Churchill knows full well that assassination is not any part of the Zionist policy nor has it ever been. Violence is not a Jewish characteristic. Churchill's denunciation is on a par with Hitler's reaction to the killing of one of his ministers in Paris a few years ago. Hitler blamed the whole of Jewry and increased his bloody persecution and slaughter. Churchill now threatens Zionism with the withdrawal of the support of H.M.G. unless they will eradicate this murderous element from their ranks. What hypocrisy! H.M.G. have consistently endeavoured to wreck Zionism since 1919 and whatever success has attended the efforts of Zionist leaders has been achieved despite lack of support from H.M.G. Less sympathy with the Zionist movement could not have been extended to Jewry, so why pretend to withdraw what has never been given.

...

When the Arabs were murdering British officials in Palestine for years, were the Arabs as a Nation held responsible, was such strong language used in the House of Commons deprecating their murderous activities, were they told that H.M.G. would withdraw support and sympathy for them if such actions continued? No, the Arabs, whatever they did, were condoned, even though murder, assassination and violence were political weapons extolled by all Arab peoples.

Is this the time, when the Jewish Nation have and still are suffering more than any other people, when anti-semitism is almost aflame throughout the world, to blame a whole people for the acts of a small murderous gang? I cannot help feeling that Churchill's unwise pronouncement and unjust condemnation is a sop to anti-semitism and an excuse to justify further curtailments of the Zionist policy. The Palestine Administration and the policy of H.M.G. must shoulder the responsibility for the murder of Lord Moyne. Churchill's statement is an attempt to evade that responsibility.

3.VII.1945. London

p.194/195

He (Weizmann) tells me that some time ago Churchill promised him that, as soon as the German war was finished, the Jewish problem would be tackled and that Jewish sovereignty would be considered. He has now been told by Churchill that it must be put off until the problematic Peace Conference takes place. More frustration and delay over a problem whose solution is long overdue. ...

...

Weizmann is no longer in favour of partition but has no objection to the Samaria-Nablus district being removed from Zionist Palestine. I cannot agree. Palestine intact must go to the Zionists. Weizmann declared that he had faith that God's Promise would eventually come true but that clearly he was not destined to act as the Almighty's agent on earth. Somebody else must try. This is the first occasion on which I have heard Weizmann base his arguments on the Old Testament, at any rate to me. I told him that God would not help those who would not help themselves and that continued effort is vital. We must never rest until the Jews get the whole of Palestine.

24.VII.1945. London

p.195/196

...Churchill has broken his pledge to give the Jews sovereignty over Palestine, due no doubt to his fear of the Arabs and any trouble they might cause; but he does not know the Arabs. They will submit to strength as has been proved on many occasions.

28.IX.1945. London

p.197

...The Arabs alone among nations have given up nothing. During both the First and Second World Wars they gained everything and contributed nothing. ... On the other hand the Jews have contributed a great deal during both wars and have suffered more than any other nation. It is gross injustice that they should be refused a home which once was theirs. This simple act of justice is held up for fear of the Arabs and hatred of the Jews. A policy of fear leads nowhere; it is no policy.

5.X.1945. London

p.199

The Palestine Mandate provides for the 'reconstituting' of the National Home, implying the restitution of the right of the Jewish People to its historic homeland.

The Balfour Declaration is a definite promise to the Jews of the world and safeguards the Arabs of Palestine, not the Arabs of the World.

...

The Arabs still possess vast areas practically empty.

One hears a lot about Jewish immigration into Palestine. One hears little of the unrestricted Arab immigration into Palestine. There has been a steady flow into Palestine, attracted by Jewish prosperity.

14.XI.1945. London

p.199

Bevin spoke yesterday on Zionism and the Jewish Question. A great disappointment. The Labour Party had pledged themselves to reverse the White Paper policy and included that pledge in the recent election propaganda but, like most election promises, it was a lie. Bevin's speech is an admission of failure and despair. For twenty-five years successive British Governments have failed to implement their pledge to the Jews and having failed they now have the temerity to say 'every effort has been made', etc. On the contrary every effort has been made to sabotage Zionism and drive the Jews to desperation.

p.200

Bevin states that force will be used against force. It is going to be used against the desperate need of the Jewish Nation and not against the aggressive imperialism of the Arab States.

p.201

The fact must be faced that the world is so inured to Jewish persecution and progroms that all decent feelings towards these unhappy people are dulled. ... What would happen and what does happen if a single Arab is killed by a Jew? It is considered an outrage. The murder of Jews is just an incident of little import.

14.XI.1945. London

p.203

I am convinced that the fundamental basis of Zionism lies deep-seated in religion. ...

...In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that, for the future, a strong and friendly Palestine is vital to the future strategic security of the British Commonwealth. It can never be strong and healthy under divided control, still less under any form of Arab government. ... If Dr. Weizmann had been guilty of one-hundredth part of the Mufti's iniquities, he would have been arrested forthwith and with zest.

p.205

...Partition, an evil compromise and no solution, has been suggested. Zionists have been blamed for not coming to some agreement with the Arabs, a shameful attempt to shift the responsibility of solving the Jewish problem on to Jewish shoulders. No Arab is going to come to an agreement with a Zionist. Why should he? If His Majesty's Government cannot implement their policy, why should the Arabs do so? The Arabs know perfectly well that H.M.G. has wrecked Zionism. Why should the Arabs salvage what their sympathizers have wrecked.



(addition to p.34)

p.205

...In 1919, when in Paris and on the eve of sailing for Palestine, I asked both Lloyd George and Balfour what was their view of the ultimate goal of political Zionism. I was told that they envisaged a Jewish sovereign State emerging from the Jewish National Home promised under the terms of the Balfour Declaration. ...Partition, an evil compromise ...etc. (see p.34)

p.206

Those Arabs who dislike it (giving Palestine to the Jews as a National Home) can be compensated and given land elsewhere. It is claimed that this would be a gross injustice to the Arabs. One hears little of Injustice to the Jews.

2.V.1946. London

p.206

The Palestine Report was published yesterday. ...

p.208/209

...The Report does not appear to have missed any important point except the change in status of Transjordan which H.M.G. achieved whilst the Commission was sitting - a fairly sharp piece of work. Transjordan is part of the mandated territory of Palestine. Transjordan has been given sovereign status under Abdullah. The matter should have been referred to UNO but in their anxiety to ensure that the Jews would not get Transjordan or that the Commission should even recommend anything about Transjordan, H.M.G., in a hurry, went behind the backs of the Commission and, whilst it was sitting, severed Transjordan from Palestine whereas geographically and in every other sense it is Palestine and always has been.

...

The Middle East Department of the Foreign Office and the Palestine Administration are definitely hostile to Zionism. The F.O. because they imagine that a solid pro-British Arab bloc in the Middle East constitutes the best defence against Russian encroachment. Russia is doing her utmost to get a foothold in the Mediterranean, demanding mandates over Eritrea and Tripoli, stirring up Egypt, Iraq and Syria against Britain and generally trying to undermine British influence or what is left of it. But what the F.O. do not appreciate is that prosperity and a high standard of living offer the greatest insurance against Bolshevism. The Arabs can never, owing to their backward state and low standards, their inherent laziness and dishonesty, their disunity and their lack of desire to improve, give us anything approaching prosperous stability in the Middle East.

...

The Jews, on the other hand, are a most progressive and enlightened nation, could give us prosperous stability in the Middle East and would constitute a strong bastion within the British Commonwealth. If we were to give up Egypt, the Canal could be better safeguarded from Palestine or Sinai than from Cyprus, the Sudan or Cyrenaica. Though H.M.G. have long ago forfeited any gratitude from the Jews through their dilatory and obstructive attitude, it is still not too late. But even now our Foreign Office and Palestine Administration are determined to back the Arab - the wrong horse. It is significant that the Arabs are already making overtures to Russia with a view to receiving support for their claims.

p.210/211

...That the Jews will eventually get Palestine, I have no doubt, but it will not be through any effort of H.M.G.

The great enemy of Zionism and the Jews is anti-semitism and I believe that to be a symptom of decadence in Christianity. I believe that the persecution of the Jews and the storm of anti-semitism now sweeping the world, is the prelude to an attack on Christianity. ... When will the Christian Church realize that the rebuilding of the Holy Land as a Jewish National Home is but a phase in the struggle for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth.

19.VI.1946. London

p.211

I cannot retain two loyalties, the one to the Jews and their aspirations in Palestine and the other to my beloved British Army. The latter comes before the former which has received a severe blow due to Jewish terrorists having kidnapped five or six British Officers in Palestine. I know the Jews have had immense provocation. I know how much they have suffered not only from the Germans but from the British Government ...

Jewish terrorism in Palestine has once and for all refuted the taunt that Jews would not fight. They are in fact some of the toughest people in the world. My best agent in the 1914-1918 war was a Jew - Aaron Aaronson, a man who feared nothing and had an immense intellect. The Jews have always fought well in a righteous cause and their recent exploits in Palestine prove them to be as tough, as resourceful and brave as any partisans anywhere. I admire them for it but cannot condone the kidnapping of officers as hostages. They must be released without condition before I again turn to Zionism.

1.VII.1946. London

p.211/212

The British Army in Palestine have moved, have arrested the executive of the Jewish Agency ... but it is most unfortunate for Jewish terrorism which is the direct outcome of British misgovernment and broken promises. But arresting the leading men of the Jewish Agency is drastic. When Arab terrorism swept Palestine and British officials were being murdered, we did not arrest the Arab executive and failed to arrest the Mufti though a warrant was out against him and we knew where he was. ...

...I am not in the least surprised that they (the Jews) have been driven to violence. The Jews owe nothing to Great Britain, the Arabs owe everything. And still we continue Hitler's policy of extermination against these unfortunate people. Have we no shame or pity? I am following events in Palestine with the deepest concern for I fear our people are going to hand out the rawest deal to Jewry which they have ever suffered and I am thoroughly ashamed of Attlee and his gang of appeasers.

25.VII.1946. London

p.212-214

The Holy Land is once more the scene of outrage, violence and terrorism, this time in Jerusalem where King David's Hotel was blown up by the Jews on the 22nd. It contained the offices of Military Headquarters and the Palestine Government; casualties have been heavy, over 100 people killed, and many injured. Such acts cannot be defended but they can be excused. I can never forget that the Jews are a great nation fighting for their freedom; that they have been betrayed and frustrated by every British Government since 1919, that they have suffered at the hands of the world more than any other nation during the past twenty-five years, that they have during that period been the victims of terrorism and sabotage and that they have been driven to acts of violence mainly because the British Government have been unable to make up their mind on policy.

...

"The Times" makes one extraordinary statement to-day. It says that Britain has shown herself to be the best and steadiest friend the Jews have ever had. What perversion and blindness to facts. Hitler's method of dealing with the Jews was direct and violent. The British Governments since 1919 have insidiously sabotaged Zionism with painful consistency, have broken every promise they have made to the Jews and have backed the Arabs against the Jews; ...

...

We arrested the heads of the Jewish Agency. Did we arrest the Mufti after repeated murders? If the Jews kill British soldiers there is an outcry. If the Arabs murder British soldiers in Egypt there is no reaction. The British Government are to blame for terrorism in Palestine. I cannot blame the Jews.

28.VII.1946. London

p.214

...Weizmann most depressed at seeing the whole of his life's work crumbling. But Zionism cannot be killed so easily. A nation fighting for its freedom cannot be crushed. And the Jews are one of the greatest among nations, a first-class power without a home. I believe that the Jews, if given their home in Palestine, could make a greater contribution to civilization than any other people. How can they contribute anything in dispersal? ...

Jewish terrorism has given the lie to the common belief that the Jew is not a fighting man. He has proved himself to be the match of British soldiers not only in pluck but in resourcefulness and intelligence.

28.VII.1946. London

p.214/215

Lieutenant-General Sir Evelyn Barker, the British Commander in Palestine, has instructed British Soldiers 'to have no social intercourse with Jews'.

This is a most shameful and direct incentive to anti-semitism, just at a time when it is least justified. We were not even asked to hold the Germans in contempt. If the Jews get Barker, he deserves all he gets; in any case he should be removed from his command for such an inhuman order.

If a British Officer had issued such an order with reference to Moslems, he would be at once recalled. Why is he allowed to say such things about the Jews?

2.VIII.1946. Wiltshire

p.215

Two days debate on Palestine and the Jews, but nobody got anywhere. There was no suggestion that the Jews are a great nation fighting for their freedom - and fighting against the one country which prides itself in assisting nations to achieve freedom.

...Abandon Palestine to anarchy and bloodshed! Same as Egypt and India. It is a glaring admission of failure, unprecedented in the history of our Empire.

31.XII.1946. London

p.218/219

Dined with Weizmann at the Dorchester; he has just returned from the Basle Congress. ... He still has faith in H.M.G., a policy which he maintains is the only possible one. I thoroughly disagree with him on that point. No British Government is ever going to give Palestine to the Jews or redeem the Balfour Declaration. ...

...They (the Basle Congress) decided that Palestine must be a Jewish Commonwealth. They also decided that they had no faith in the British Government ...

This led to the deposition of Weizmann. ... Weizmann has always been in favour of a policy of negotiation. This he has followed for thirty years and look at the result. Sabotage, broken promises and exasperation.

... Churchill advises giving up the Mandate. This would be an admission of failure and would lower British prestige to a dangerous level. God knows it is low enough as it is.

Both the Jewish and the Palestine Questions are chaotic. H.M.G. have only themselves to thank for the impasse.

Britain is now the oppressor of a great people fighting for their freedom. It seems to be a role only too common since the Boer War.



1.VIII.1947. London

p.219

Two days ago the Palestine Government executed three Jewish terrorists, caught whilst attacking Acre Gaol. A just conviction and sentence. The terrorists kidnapped two British sergeants about a fortnight ago and announced their intention to hang them if the sentence on the Acre Jews was carried out. The bodies of the two sergeants were found, hanged, yesterday. It is a ghastly retaliation and a brutal act. I am terribly sorry for those two men who only did their duty and I am terribly sorry for our soldiers in Palestine who have to carry out this revolting policy of the Government. The real men responsible for the killing of those two sergeants are the politicians who sit in Downing Street, the Government of this country and ultimately the British public. All my sympathy is with the Jews who have been driven by apathy, anti-semitism and broken promises into a state of exasperation. If I were a Jew I should be a terrorist, a violent one, and I would aim at Whitehall.

p.220

...Also the Jews have suffered much more persecution than Indonesia has ever dreamed of and have been led to believe by successive British Governments that they will be given a home in Palestine. We have turned their home into a shambles and are perpetuating Hitler's policy of extermination.

2.IX.1947. London

p.220

...If only our socialist Government had a little initiative, a little strength and a little ability to see beyond their socialist dreams and false gods.

4.I.1948. Arabia

p.220/221

I have questioned many people in the Sudan and here about the Palestine situation and Arab reaction to partition. Without exception the answers I have received have been tainted by violent hebraphobia. ...for nothing will convince the Hebraphobe that the world owes the Jews justice ...

...No doubt H.M.G. are perturbed by the threats voiced by all Arab countries to conduct a Holy War against the Jews. But Arabs bark much harder than they bite; though Egypt, Transjordan and Iraq can send a few men into Palestine the organization will be rotten, supply will be inefficient and it will be a half-hearted show. The Arab Legion, officered by British officers, could no doubt take Jerusalem, but they will never conquer the Jews. No, I have little faith in Arab strength, Arab efficiency or Arab determination. But I have implicit faith in the Jews being able to hold their own and a bit more in Palestine.

...Apparently, having done our best to disarm the Jews, we are prepared to abdicate and abandon them to their fate and the Holy Land to anarchy; whilst arming the Arabs as hard as we can. I seldom felt so ashamed of my country.

23.IV.1948. Haifa

p.223

...

We sailed from Haifa at dusk, just as a British destroyer escorted into the harbour a Jewish refugee ship which will be turned back to Cyprus. It is grossly unfair that the Jews are not allowed to bring in their own nationals when the Arab legion, armed, equipped, financed and officered by Britain, together with army units from Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt are on the march into Palestine to attack them. The whole attitude of our Foreign Office and Bevin disgusts me. ...

...Brave deeds are unknown to the Arab.

#### Chapter VI: Israel.

18.V.1948. London

p.225/226

The Zionists have proclaimed a Jewish State in Palestine with Shertok as Foreign Minister and Weizmann as President. Our Mandate terminated on the 15th, which was the signal for the invasion of Palestine by Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Lebanon and Syria. The Transjordan Frontier Force, officered by British officers, is in action on the Judaeen Highlands accompanied by a special correspondent of "The Times", whilst Cadogan tells the Security Council that he doubts whether there is a threat to international peace, that he would find difficulty in pointing out the aggressor and that the Transjordan Frontier Force is in Transjordan.

Never in the history of England has there been such a shameful abdication after years of shilly-shallying, no policy and not decision beyond those prompted by anti-Jewish sentiment. Our Mandate over Palestine was something more than other mandates. Palestine is a unique country with unique problems. The Palestine Mandate was unique. We have missed a chance which will never recur and have earned the eternal hatred of Jewry when we might have won their eternal respect. We have lost the strategic value of Palestine which will cost us dear. The whole of Palestine and Jewry have been hopelessly bungled and I am thoroughly ashamed of our Government, our Press, our people and my religion.

Since 1918 I have continually pressed for Jewish Sovereignty in Palestine. Both Balfour and Lloyd George intended it. A Jewish State could have been erected in Palestine in 1919 or 1920 without any difficulty. But after that, officials in Palestine and Whitehall, poisoned by anti-Jewish feeling, never gave Zionism a chance. Britain and her officials sided with the Arabs and now throws over the Mandate, telling the Jews and Arabs they can fight it out, in the belief that the Arabs will win. Whilst placing every obstacle in the

way of the Jews, no obstacles have been placed in the way of the Arabs. On the contrary, Egypt, Transjordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia have received arms from the British Government and their troops have been trained by British officers.

...

Britain is now the champion of the Arab League and is prepared to carry on the vile policy which Hitler initiated against the Jews.

...Cadogan finds it difficult to find an aggressor. Surely invasion is the essence and proof of aggression. Just another excuse to support the Arab League and obstruct the Jews.

21.V.1948. London

p.229/230

...One thing seems certain now; the Jews will retain what partition has given them and if the Arabs persist on invasion, then Israel will dominate a greater Palestine which will surely embrace Transjordan and possibly parts of Syria and Sinai.

26.V.1948. London

p.230

...There are thirty-seven British officers serving with the Arab Legion in Palestine against the Jews and Bevin is lying in the House when he says none of them are directing artillery against Jerusalem. I happen to know that four are doing so. And Alexander, our Minister of Defence, has the impertinence to say in the House that our evacuation of Palestine does not affect our strategic interest in the security and stability of the Middle East.

1.VII.1948. London

p.230/231

...The Palestine problem can only be decided by blood.

...

What have we left behind in Palestine? A Transjordan king and government which would collapse if British support were withdrawn, an Arab army under the command of British officers and equipped by Britain and a heritage of complications the end of which cannot be visualized. Worse, much worse, we have left behind a hatred which will not die for generations.

9.VII.1948. London

p.231/232

The truce is finished and fighting has broken out again, the Egyptians being the aggressors. I am sure that a solution achieved by war will be territorially a much better solution for Israel than the partition offered by the United Nations last November.

Bernadotte has failed to grasp the meaning of Zionism or that Palestine is already a sovereign state without any intention of abandoning her sovereignty. Bernadotte's plan, an amazingly stupid and ill-advised plan, probably suggested to him by some British officer, includes the

giving of Jerusalem to the Arabs and depriving the Jews of Haifa. These are the two keys of Israel, fundamental and vital. To abandon Haifa and Jerusalem makes nonsense of Zionism. The idea of Jerusalem becoming an Arab city revolts me, arousing the old fire of crusader. With Arab intolerance of religion and the Holy City, the Holy Christian City, in the hands of intolerant fanatics, the Middle East goes back to the dark ages.

15.VII.1948. London

p.232

...Cadogan, who when Transjordan, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon invaded Palestine, could not see any sign of aggression, now when Jewish military successes indicate that they will soon dominate the situation and capture Jerusalem, denounces the Jews as aggressors. ...

...

Bernadotte runs a grave risk of assassination.

16.VII.1948. London

p.232/233

After weeks of fighting in Palestine it looks as though the Security Council is going to treat it as a breach of the peace and to invoke sanctions. When this was first proposed during the Arab Legion's assault last May against Jerusalem, it was vigorously opposed by the British Government. ... For nearly three years Bevin has done his utmost to assist the Arab League in preventing a Jewish State. ... Confidently the British Government expected and hoped that the Jews would be driven out of Palestine and Zionism destroyed once and for all. But what happened. By a series of dramatic military victories the Jews have conquered the areas allotted to them; and after 15th May, the Arab armies which had been expected to enter Haifa within ten days failed utterly to achieve their objective, despite British money, British equipment, British training and the active participation of British officers.

28.VII.1948. London

p.233

A quarter of a million pounds has been paid to Transjordan this week as a subsidy for their invasion of Palestine. Without this subsidy Abdullah could not possibly maintain the Arab Legion in Palestine; the payment of the subsidy therefore amounts to a breach of the truce. I hope the Israel Government will make such a representation to the Security Council ... It is the man behind the gun who counts, not the gun.

10.VIII.1948. London

p.234

Israel would have loyally adhered to U.N.O. decision on partition including restricted boundaries, but the Arab States refused to accept U.N.O. decision and invaded Palestine. Nobody had the pluck to acclaim them aggressors. Why?

We still continue to subsidize Transjordan who is at war with Israel and it is not considered to be an unneutral act. Why?



On July 27th, the British Middle East Command handed over to the Egyptian Army considerable quantities of military equipment. Why is this not a breach of the truce?

The British Government are solicitous for the welfare of 300,000 Arabs who fled from Israel for no reason at all. The Jews never molested them nor compelled them to leave.

...Yet he (Cadogan) continues to pay British taxpayers' money to maintain the Arab Legion which has committed an act of aggression against Palestine ...

2.IX.1948. London  
p.234/235

Despite superiority in arms, equipment and numbers the Arab armies of six States have failed to carry out their boast that they would drive the Jews out of Palestine. On the contrary, the Jews are well on their way to drive the Arabs not only out of Palestine but out of Trans-jordan and Sinai. ...

...He (Bernadotte) tried to give Jerusalem to the Arabs. Christianity should have been deeply shocked. I was, but no single voice in Britain expressed horror. Jerusalem is the core of Zionism. To give it to the Arabs stamps Bernadotte at once as a partisan and completely out of touch with the meaning of Zionism. In formulating this horrible proposal he has signed his own death warrant. They will have no use for him ~~it~~ and the terrorists will get him sooner or later and everyone else who stands between Israel and Jerusalem. I'm terribly sorry that Bernadotte made such an error for he has both moral and physical courage and might have succeeded if he had understood Zionism better.

17.IX.1948. London  
p.235/236

Count Bernadotte has been shot dead in Jerusalem by members of the Stern Gang; it is a shocking and unforgivable crime but was inevitable after trying to give Jerusalem to the Arabs. Such a proposal showed a complete lack of understanding of Zionism and he signed his death warrant when he suggested it. But the real culprits and responsible instigators of the crime are generally the United Nations and in particular the British Government. ...

...  
The Jews are not naturally a violent race, their characteristics are piety, gentleness and kindness.

19.IX.1948. London  
p.237/238

...There is no doubt that for years to come all Arab States will strive to drive the Jews into the sea and destroy the State of Israel and there will be little sympathy with Israel among the nations of the world, partly because of anti-semitism and partly because of expediency, namely oil. ...



...

When I was in Sinai during the First War, I discovered that the sovereign boundary between Egypt and Turkey runs from Rafa to Suez and that Egypt was granted an administrative frontier by Turkey, running from Rafa to the north end of the Gulf of Aqaba. Britain conquered eastern Sinai and can claim it. The Egyptians have no right to it. If we were to occupy eastern Sinai, we could establish a strategic base there, secure the Canal and separate Egypt from other Arab States. With this in view I lunched with Vansittart and I think he was impressed; I told him I should like to place the scheme before Bevin and he agreed; a meeting was arranged and this afternoon I met Bevin at the Foreign Office.

...

I had maps with me ... he was clearly bored and uninterested. ...I stressed the fact that the Jews are the finest fighting material and we should do all we can to help them; I thought Bevin would explode when I stressed the superb qualities of the Jews, - gratitude, reliability and courage; Bevin cleared his throat, puffed out his cheeks and closely resembled an inflated toad. I hinted that anti-semitism was poisoning the minds of Ministers, at which he became very indignant, in fact so indignant that it was clearly a correct assumption.

...By throwing up the Palestine Mandate and abandoning the Jews to their fate, which he hoped would be annihilation, Bevin has done more harm to Britain than most men; it is tragic that a man of his calibre should be Foreign Secretary and bring such discredit on our country.

24.X.1948. London  
p.239/240

...Anyone with the slightest knowledge of Zionism and the Arabs should know that there can be no mediation between Zionism and Islam until Israel has occupied what is her right in Palestine. To think or act otherwise shows ignorance of the situation and a refusal to face realities. ...And so it will continue until Israel gets what she wants.

...

People talk much about injustice to the Arabs. What about the Baltic States, Finland, Poland and every other State behind the Iron Curtain; all raped by Russia and ruled by puppet Communist Governments contrary to the wishes of the majority. We never hear of injustices in Eastern Europe, only in Palestine and only because the nation Israel is composed of Jews.

The acting Mediator in Palestine has ordered Israel to withdraw from the position she has won during the last week. I am glad to say Israel has refused to consider such a one-sided arrangement. It would be unfair to regard this refusal as disregard of the will of the United Nations. The present situation is the direct result of the failure of the Mediator

to react quickly when Egyptian Forces attacked an Israeli convoy which initiated the present campaign in the Negev. Little attention was given to the Egyptian attack and it is unfair and unrealistic to demand the withdrawal of troops from positions which were occupied at the cost of heavy losses to secure Jewish settlements which were illegally blockaded.

8.XI.1948. London  
p.240/241

...The total collapse of the Egyptian army in the Negev has created a military situation in southern Palestine which is entirely dominated by the armed forces of Israel who could, if they wished, occupy the whole of Sinai ... All that remains to the Arabs is the Judaeen Highlands and the Jordan valley where the Arab Legion, still financed by Britain in flagrant breach of neutrality, are in command. ...

Israel will not now give up territory won by force of arms. The United Nations are faced with a fait accompli. ...One could scarcely expect Israel to hold back and do nothing when surrounded by enemies; and when Britain was known to be behind her enemies.

...

It must surely be obvious to all that no power on earth can confine or suppress the nationalistic and racial impetus of Israel. Zionism must expand to its natural boundaries. Those who still hope to check Zionism might as well hope to check the explosion of an atom bomb.

The sensible solution is to encourage direct negotiation between Jew and Arab. ...

But thank God I have lived to see the birth of Israel. It is one of the greatest historical events of the last 2,000 years and thank God I have been privileged to assist in a small way this great event which, I am convinced, will bring benefit to mankind.

The only constructive element which emerged from the wreckage of 1914-1918 was the conceded principle of a Home for the Jews in Palestine; and the only worthwhile dividend of 1939-1945 is Israel.

23.IV.1949. Cape Town  
p.243/244

After dinner I called on Smuts at the Mount Nelson Hotel.

...

He thought the new State of Israel was one of the wonders of the world and the only good outcome of two world wars. The irony of its birth was that our throwing up of the Palestine Mandate was prompted by the belief that the Arabs would drive the Jews into the sea and squash Zionism once and for all; it had, in fact, enabled Israel to be born and weaned by its own strength.

I pointed out to Smuts the many nations who had sunk low after persecution of the Jews. Egypt suffered because she would not 'let My people go'. In the late Middle Ages Spain persecuted the Jews and has never recovered from the great nation she once was. Before the First World War and during that war France and Russia persecuted the Jews and were reduced to ruin. We befriended the Jews in 1918-19 and were strong and prosperous. Our deterioration coincides with an increasing determination 'not to let My people go' and a general sabotage of Zionism. German persecution of the Jews has met with its reward. America has befriended the Jews and is now the greatest Power in the world. That cannot be all coincidence.

Smuts thought Weizmann a great leader and a far-seeing statesman, but it was the terrorists - the Jabotinsky Revisionists whose core was the Stern Gang - who compelled Britain to admit defeat and gave Weizmann his opportunity. Weizmann, who disliked Jabotinsky, owes him a great deal and when history comes to be written the latter will be the patriot who made it possible to bring Israel into the world.

I left Smuts at 11 p.m., highly gratified to find that my views on these matters were coincident with the views of one of the wisest men of our times.

10.XII.1949. London  
p.245/246

The United Nations have approved an international administration over Jerusalem by thirty-eight votes to fourteen. ...

...

The Jews will never accept it and the United Nations can never enforce it, so what is the sense of a resolution which can only bring UNO into contempt and ridicule. And look at the list of nations who voted for the resolution. What do they know or care about Palestine.

...

I hope that Israel's reply will be to move the seat of Government to Jerusalem at once. The resolution will either be ridiculed or if enforced will be met by bloodshed. The Jews will never surrender Jerusalem. Why should they?

14.I.1951. Kuwait, Persian Gulf.  
p.246/247

It is remarkable how many British eccentrics are attracted to Arabia or is it that a certain type becomes an eccentric after contact with the Arab? From the earliest days - Gordon, Lady Elphinstone, Doughty, Bourton - down to the host of modern eccentrics such as Lawrence, Philby, Glubb. I suppose a slightly unbalanced mind and a craving for romance or solitude is attracted by the dirt, squalor, dishonesty, inefficiency, laziness, intolerance and unreliability of the Arab, and no doubt the romance of the desert and the nomad has its attractions; it certainly attracts me. Perhaps

Islam and the almost childishness of Moslem hypocrisy and the false holiness of Islam's Holy Cities all contribute.

I suppose the truth is that a man slightly abnormal is in search of something abnormal and in the Arab and the desert he finds just what he wants, people and places out of the ordinary and an atmosphere where his eccentricities find full scope and expansion and where he can with ease become a whale among the smaller fry.

15.I.1951. Kuwait

p.247

Dined with Jordan and his wife. A Lebanese contractor was also there with his wife, wearing a four-row diamond necklace ...

...

I remarked 'Why do not you Arabs, with all your resources from oil, do something for those wretched refugees from Palestine.' 'Good God,' he said 'do you really think we are going to destroy the finest propaganda we possess; it's a gold mine.' I suggested that such a view is both unkind and immoral. 'Bah,' he said, 'they are just human rubbish but a political gold mine.' In slightly different language I received identical views from other Arabs.

19.VI.1951. London

p.249/250

...the fundamental trouble is the Kremlin. ...

...

There is nothing to stop Russia invading the Middle East to-morrow; she could reach the Suez Canal and the head of the Persian Gulf in a month; ...

...

We have missed our great opportunity. Many years ago when I was Chief Political Officer in Palestine I approached Weizmann regarding the future of Zionism, suggesting that sooner or later we should have to abandon Egypt as a military base and would he agree, after the establishment of a sovereign Israel, to British bases leased for ninety-nine years. He agreed. Later on (1922) when I was Military Adviser to the Middle East Department, I stressed the importance of Palestine as our Middle East base and put forward the suggestion of transferring the core of our Middle East defence from Egypt to Palestine where excellent naval, army and air facilities exist. But pro-Arab policy was too strong, anti-semitism was rampant and to be under any obligation to the Jews was anathema. The proposition fell through and a great opportunity was lost. Having incurred the hatred of the Jews after abandoning Palestine to anarchy in the hopes that the Arabs would drive them into the sea, such an opportunity will never recur.

...

Written in huge letters over Downing Street should be 'We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done.'



...Bevin could never shake off his provincial socialist orthodoxy; his policy was the history of hesitation, retreat and surrender.

22.VII.1951. Mottisfont, Hampshire

p.250

Jowitt and I discussed Israel for over an hour. ... I found him at first antagonistic and favouring our support of the Arab States in preference to Israel. ... I put all the usual arguments before him - the Biblical aspect, the persecution and dispersal for 2,000 years, Hitler's persecution, the 'nation-without-a-home' aspect, the debt we owe the Jews in religion, music, art and science and finally the strategic and military aspect; ...

13.XI.1951. London

p.251

There is much talk now of Middle East Defence. And a desire to include all countries of the Arab League whilst ignoring Israel. What can we expect from the Arab League? Yemen - nothing. Saudi Arabia - a phantom army, untrained and non-existent as a fighting force. Iraq, an undisciplined mob incapable of serious fighting. Egypt - an army which has already been beaten by the youngest army in the world. Syria and Lebanon - nothing but scallywags. And in Israel we have a highly efficient army, well trained, modern weapons and already tried in battle; their morale is of the highest order. And the silly guinea-pigs of Whitehall continue to back and appease the Arabs.

It would be so easy to come to an arrangement with Israel which would stabilize our position in the Middle East and secure the Suez Canal for all time.

20.V.1952. London

p.251

We are drifting from bad to worse. Israel recently asked for a loan of five million to maintain her oil supplies; H.M.G. have refused and once again hebraphobia has triumphed regardless of realities.

28.IX.1952. London

p.252/253

...India, Iraq and Jordan are now ruled by Harrow school boys about whom we know little.

And Whitehall still appeases and supports these rotting heaps of Arab instability whilst scarcely recognizing little Israel. I wish Israel and Turkey would get together for they represent the only stable factor in the Middle East. Both the Turk and the Jew have proved their worth on the battlefield. A close liaison, or better a loose alliance between the Turk and the Jew, would have a tremendous influence in the Middle East, it would deflate the Arab League and might influence Whitehall in the right direction. Also, a strong Turkey and Israel offer the best security should Russia make an attempt on the Suez Canal. The Turks know the Arabs. ...



...The Middle East Defence system is only weakened by the Arabs; it would be enormously strengthened by Turkish and Israeli adherence.

...British policy, just one hundred years ago, still regarded Turkey, well on the road to dissolution, as the best insurance against Russian aggression and a better guardian of the strategically vital Middle East than any Arab Empire. It has been proved that the Arabic-speaking peoples are no substitute for Turkey in the face of an aggressive Russia....

...But the result of a war for which Egypt and Transjordan must take the major responsibility was a resounding defeat of the Arabs by an ill-armed and isolated handful of Jews. ...We are allowing the Arabs to buy modern war equipment, provided they do not use it for aggression. What a provision, and who is going to stop the Arabs embarking on a second round with Israel when they think they can succeed?

1.I.1953. London  
p.255/256

Britain continues to supply modern arms to Arab States, far in excess of what is required for internal use. ... the arms are required solely for the purpose of aggressive action against Israel ... Foreign Office policy for the past thirty years has never wavered from the policy of trying to drive the Jews out of Palestine and this latest action is most distressing. ...

...  
Since 1948 the Arab countries have refused to discuss peace with Israel; they have opposed her politically and economically wherever they could, they have done their utmost to strangle her trade; in short they have shown a vindictive, vengeful spirit, trying to obtain by spite what they cannot obtain by force of arms; ...Is that the correct spirit for members of the United Nations? Could we expect otherwise when one remembers that in two - Saudi Arabia and Yemen - slaves can still be bought and sold.

...In all the Arab States we shall see dictatorships arise and all opposition suppressed. Every effort will be made for a final war of extermination against Israel.

6.I.1953. London  
p.256

There seems to be no end to the amount of appeasement we proffer to the Arabs at the expense of the Jews. ... The lessons Hitler taught us have been forgotten.

10.IV.1953. Tel-Aviv  
p.257/258

...  
I told him (Ben-Gurion) I was distressed by the many injustices I had observed towards Israel. ...

...(6) The failure of United Nations to compel the Arab States to make peace with Israel.

(7) The attempt to make Israel responsible for the Arab refugees.

...

- (10) The continued presence of both Egyptian and Jordan troops on Israeli territory.

Ben-Gurion agreed and said that so long as Britain pursued an appeasement policy towards the Arab States, these injustices were insoluble.

18.IV.1953. Allonim Kibbutz

p.258-260

In the evening I had a long talk with Colonel Allon, who is a member of this Kibbutz; he is a first class type of man, a keen soldier and went through the North African, Italian and Dutch campaigns with the British Army; he also took a prominent part in the Israeli War of Independence when he was commanding the artillery in the offensive against the Egyptians in Sinai in January 1949.

He told me the story of British interference during a major and decisive operation, when Israeli forces had surrounded the whole Egyptian army and there would have been no resistance by Egypt if Israel had chosen to occupy the Canal and even Cairo. It is conceivable that, if Israel had been allowed to reap the fruits of her victory, there would be no Suez Canal problem. ...

...but a pity Allon, who was commanding Israeli troops in Sinai, did not do what Nelson did in Copenhagen. And I firmly believe that Britain was bluffing. ... The whole incident was one of Bevin's most brutal and stupid moves.

Risks must be taken in war; and this was an occasion when the risk was worth taking; the advantages outweighed the risk of active intervention by Britain.

20.IV.1953. Tel-Aviv

p.260

I had a long talk with Allon about the cease-fire in Sinai in January 1949. He admitted that a great error had been made in submitting to the British threat of intervention at a moment when the destruction of the Egyptian army was imminent. ... As it was, Israel won the war but lost the peace due to the spite of Britain, who, not content with abandoning Israel to the Arabs in 1948, stepped in under the wing of the United States and deprived Israel of complete victory. If Israel had been allowed to destroy the Egyptian Army, we should never have all this trouble over the Suez Canal and the Sudan. And Jordan also would have had its bubble burst and the Arab League would have been exploded for ever.

26.X.1953. London

p.264

As regards responsibility, I blamed the United Nations for not translating the armistice agreements into a final peace settlement. Their failure to do this was governed by a policy of appeasement towards the Arab States, expediency and vested interests overriding common sense and justice.

...I particularly blamed the British Government who finance Jordan to the tune of over six million pounds a year, for not using their influence in telling Glubb and his minions that if Jordan aggression does not stop, the subsidy will cease. ...

...I thought it was a thousand pities that the British Government had interrupted in the Israel-Egypt military operation in 1948. If Israel had been allowed to occupy Sinai we should have had no further trouble with Egypt.

p.265

One speaker brought up the Arab refugees and claimed that they were at the root of the trouble. I pointed out that these refugees had left Palestine on the advice of the Mufti and some British officials and that their flight had been assisted by the British Army then in Palestine; that if they returned they would constitute a Fifth Column in Israel owing to Arab hostility and that whereas the Arab States received an annual income from oil of almost twenty-five million pounds, Israel, owing to Arab hostility, had no spare funds to do anything about it.

1.I.1954. London

p.265

I am not at all happy about our negotiations with Egypt on the Suez Canal; the only solution is to make an international waterway in 1966 when it should revert to Egypt and be controlled by and defended by those Powers who are most interested. Egypt could never hope to defend the Canal even in the remote future and, in any case, it is much too powerful a weapon to place in the hands of any one nation and that one of the most decadent and unscrupulous in the world.

I am also much concerned about Israel and Jordan's persistence in refusing to make peace. The British Government could compel Jordan to do so under the threat of withdrawal of the subsidy; but H.M.G. appear to be content to let this festering sore persist with the danger of war breaking out again between Israel and the Arab States. At the root of the matter is appeasement of the Arab States and appeasement in any form, especially when applied to Arabs, never pays. How quickly we have forgotten Munich.

30.III.1954. London

p.266/267

No Israeli ship has ever been allowed to pass through the Suez Canal. The Constantinople Convention of 1888 is quite explicit; passage must be allowed freely at all times, in war and peace, to ships of every nation. any exercise of the right of blockade is expressly ruled out.

...In 1951 the Security Council told Egypt that her action in holding up cargoes destined for Israel was illegal and called on her to remove restrictions, but

Egypt paid no attention, and now the new New Zealand resolution has been vetoed by Russia, though eight of the Council's eleven members supported New Zealand. ...

...I know the Nasser-type of Dictator, ruthless, dishonest and for ever expanding, striving after greater and greater deeds, with boundless ambition and in fact the Hitler-Mussolini-Stalin type. But Nasser is a vulgar little upstart and not so clever as either Hitler or Stalin. ... Nasser will play the same game with the Suez Canal and I am convinced that fairly soon he will proclaim its nationalization, at the same time encouraging Russia to give him tanks, aircraft and submarines.

2.IV.1954. London  
p.268

...Israel has repeatedly asked for a top level conference between Jordan and Israel: Jordan has thrice refused the United Nations call for such a meeting. The whole problem could be solved in a few days by Britain who finances and maintains Jordan's Arab Legion besides subsidizing Jordan to the extent of many millions of pounds annually. If Britain wished, she could compel Jordan to come to terms with Israel but our inept Foreign Office just sits back and does nothing, carrying out her appeasement policy towards the Arabs which is based on oil. If open hostilities break out, which might happen at any moment and involve the whole of the Middle East in war, Britain alone is responsible, biased against Israel on anti-semitic grounds and favouring the Arab States on anxiety for oil.

20.VII.1954. London  
p.268

...Another Munich! As Bevin will go down to history as the man who tried to kill Israel, so Eden will go down to history as the man who encouraged the Arab States to embark on a second attempt to destroy Israel. It is typical of our hebraphobe Foreign Office.

1.XII.1954. London  
p.270

...I asked Greenwood two questions - Why are we arming the Arab States and why do we not insist on Egypt complying with the decision of the Security Council to cease blockading Israel?

31.XII.1954. London  
p.270

I understand that when we evacuate the Suez Canal, the base will be transferred to Cyprus. ...

...  
But it is quite unnecessary for us to go to Cyprus at all. We should have told Egypt that if they insist on our evacuating the Canal, we shall occupy that part of Sinai which formerly belonged to Turkey and which Allenby conquered in 1917 and over which Egypt had only administrative rights. Whoever sits in Sinai commands the Middle East; and it is ideally situated for a base -



splendid natural aerodromes, insignificant local inhabitants, barrier between Egypt and Israel, so close to the Canal that if Egypt misbehaves we could occupy the Canal Zone, opportunity to make a second canal across Sinai to the Gulf of Aqaba and ample fresh water if developed.

7.I.1955. London  
p.271

...

Spears (General Spears) then goes on to say that Kuwait and Saudi Arabia could do nothing to help the Arab refugees. These two states receive £100 million in oil royalties. Surely if they had any feeling for their own people in distress, some of that fortune could be spared? The Jews have their own refugee problem and cannot be expected to help people who became refugees from Palestine because they took the advice of their own leaders; these refugees were not kicked out of Palestine by the Jews; Israel implored them to stay. Moreover this refugee problem has become an asset to the Arab League; it is being used as a weapon against Israel to incite sympathy from the U.S.A. and ourselves; I often heard that point of view in both Syria and Saudi Arabia.

p.272

(added later: "...One of these causes was the invasion of Israel by the armed forces of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Jordan in order to frustrate a United Nations recommendation to establish a sovereign state of Israel. The original responsibility is therefore Arab. If one admits that the Arabs started the 1948 campaign and if you admit that the refugee problem arose from that campaign and would not have arisen without it, then the Arab Governments bear prime responsibility for the creation of the refugee problem.")

("... Moreover, if Israel were to attempt to absorb even a few refugees she would create a Fifth Column which might well help to destroy her.")

2.III.1955. London  
p.273/274

...In January last, that silly little Major Salem said 'Egypt will strive to erase the shame of Palestine war even if Israel should fulfil the U.N. resolutions. Even if Israel should consist only of Tel-Aviv, we should never put up with that.' ...

...Turkey and Israel are the two countries with whom we should and might co-operate and whom we should woo; instead we woo a prostitute among nations (Egypt).

30.X.1955. Wiltshire  
p.274

The fruits of that masterpiece of stupidity and abject surrender to Egypt - the recent agreement on the Suez Canal Zone - are now being reaped. The whole policy of a strategic defence umbrella for NATO from Greece



to Pakistan is crumbling. The Soviet offer to arm the Arab States is just another communist move, aimed at creating chaos in the Middle East and threatening the West's largest supply of oil.

Our Foreign Office still hold that we only have to appease the Egyptians and other Arab States long enough, and they will love us. But the exact opposite is the case - the more we appease, the more they hate and despise us.

If the Russians can put their technicians, advisers and experts into Suez, Ismailia, Port Said and Alexandria, we are faced with a very dangerous situation.

2.XI.1955. London  
p.275-278

...Renewed conflict between Egypt and Israel seems imminent. We encourage Egypt with arms and appeasement but we say to Israel 'Don't have a preventive war, don't buy arms from Russia, don't expect arms from Britain or the U.S.A., in fact, don't do anything but wait and be over-run by the Arab States.' ...

...It is also clear that neither Britain nor America will lift a little finger to prevent Egypt attacking Israel in spite of guarantees if these actually exist. There will be protests and much talk before the Security Council, but no action. ...

...I suggest the following plan (to Israel):

...

- (5) On reaching the Canal, at once proclaim it to be an International Waterway under International Control with a neutral zone of suitable depth on either bank of the Canal.

The usual protests would pour in from Britain and the United States, with threats of Intervention; but if the operation is carried out quickly and your intentions regarding the future of the Suez Canal made public at once, much of the alarm and surprise would be allayed, for you would have accomplished what we should have done long ago. ...

...But I believe Britain to be your worst enemy. Our Foreign Office is so steeped in appeasement of the Arab States, so impotent now that the Canal Base has been abandoned ... I trust Israel would show more resolution against interference than she did in 1948.

... My main points are:

- (1) Make Egypt the aggressor.
- (2) Reach the Canal in fifty-six hours, and at once.



...

Neither we nor America has dared look the real truth in the face, namely, that Russia is eager to exploit and foment trouble in the Middle East, in the hope that she can introduce her poison as successfully into Africa as she did in eastern Asia. Nasser is the minor threat, Russia the major.

Appeasement has utterly failed; it has been both inept and discreditable.

The two stable influences in western Asia are Turkey and Israel. Though Israel is prepared to throw in her lot with us, we deny her arms. ...

...

No doubt Russia will encourage the Arab States to attack Israel. In that event I can see all sorts of complications arising, of futile efforts by us and the U.S.A. to stop hostilities and of Russia actively helping the Arabs. There are all the seeds of a Third World War; and that would be the end of Britain.

25.IV.1956. London

p.282

The Russian undertaking to support the United Nations efforts to secure peace in the Middle East is really an undertaking to make it as uncomfortable as they can the moment they see the chance. Why should Russia help? They are now in the very centre of the Middle East stage and they intend to remain there and just bide their time to become the paramount power in the Middle East; all due to our bungling diplomacy presided over by Eden. He is no more fit to be Prime Minister than is Bevin or Shinwell.

20.VII.1956. London

p.282/283

I can see the embryo of a Third World War. Russia is slowly gaining the upper hand in the Middle East. She is using the Arab hatred of the West and the Arab avowed intention to destroy Israel in order to oust the West from the Arab World. ... The material already supplied by Russia is far in excess of that required by Egypt; it includes such supplies as blankets, sheets, boots, socks and much other material which could only be for use by Russians. This would mean the destruction of Israel who surely should attack before an Arab offensive develops. It is her only chance. She should reach the Canal in forty-eight hours and at once proclaim it to be an International Waterway under International Control. Egypt would collapse, the United Nations, who would be hopelessly disunited, would pass resolutions and talk for weeks. Nobody would have the guts to act. But I think it would compel the United Nations to accept Israel's invitation to send an international police force to take over the Canal. That would knock out Egypt and it is doubtful if Russia could do much with Egypt off the board. ... Would Russia then risk a

Third World War and send troops to the Middle East? I don't know, but if she did, and attacked Israel, the risk of a major conflagration is very great.

27.VII.1956. London

p.283/284

...He (Nasser) has become the Hitler of the Nile valley...

...

And now Nasser, in revenge, has announced that he has seized the Suez Canal in defiance of all international agreements; it is blatant piracy and robbery, but the inevitable result of the scuttling from Abadan, Palestine and the Suez Canal and the persistent policy of appeasement which both Churchill and Eden, in their criminal folly, have pursued towards the Arabs.

Disraeli gave us the key to the Canal. Eden and Churchill hand it back. I should not be surprised if, once again, the Jews returned us the key.

\*)

14.VIII.1956. Austria

p.285/286

Eden has convened an International Conference of the principal maritime Nations; it will meet in London on the 16th. ...

...

And why has Israel not been asked to the Conference? She has suffered more from Nasser's illegal stoppage of her Canal traffic than any other Nation. ... They want to be our friends, they are the only stable force in the Middle East and they have proved themselves in war to be second to none. And we ignore them: stupendous folly! ...

...

Eden's first reaction is to consult the United States, then call a conference of twenty-one nations excluding the one - Israel - most vitally interested. That will be followed by more talk until the crisis peters out in a victory for the dictator of Egypt. Most depressing.

19.VIII.1956. Austria

p.287

...In fact we are now returning to appeasement. We are evading our own prime responsibility and our strong rights; it will only goad Nasser into fresh successes. Very little strength and determination would bring the whole of his paste-board regime toppling down; it would entail the re-occupation of the Canal Zone, the settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute and permanent security for one of the great waterways of the world, vital to our existence. There are, of course, risks, but the risk of doing nothing is infinitely greater. ...

...

Whatever settlement is reached, at least a mile on each bank of the Canal must be internationalized and unfortified, but with an international garrison. If not, then Egypt is in precisely the same threatening position to the Canal as she is to-day.

\*) p.285

Russia will establish an Arab Empire from Morocco to Iraq, monopolize the oil to our disadvantage and will almost certainly destroy Israel.

24.VIII.1956. London

p.287

Nasser has said that the Suez Canal involved the death of 120,000 Egyptians. As a matter of fact it was a little over 200. Nasser's figures belong to Necho's Canal, built some 2,000 years ago. Again, he says that in the last war the Egyptian army defended the Canal. An Egyptian memorial on the Canal banks records this lie. As a matter of fact no Egyptian soldiers defended the Canal in either the First or Second World Wars; ...

24.VIII.1956. London

S.288/289

I understand that Israel's attempts to be represented at the Suez Conference did not find support within the Foreign Office. More fear of hurting Nasser's feelings and appeasement of the Arab States. Such is the hatred and mistrust of our Foreign Office for the only stable country in the Middle East and a people who are only too anxious to be our friends, and moreover some of the best and most efficient soldiers in the world.

There is still a small section of the British public and several Left-wing Members of Parliament and of course the Trade Unions, who advocate appeasement of the Arab States, who regard any use of force as immoral and futile, just as they did when Hitler entered the Rhineland. ...

...

Let us examine the facts. A military dictator has seized power in Egypt; he has established a police state; he has established close relations with Russia who urges him to further excesses; he is in a state of war with Israel whom he has sworn to destroy; he has flouted the United Nations and still stops Israeli shipping from using the Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba. ... In doing this he has broken all treaties, all promises...

...Nasser will play for time and eventually say No; and then what? More talk, reference to U.N.O., Russian veto and we are where we were when it started.

23.IX.1956. London

p.290

The Labour Party has not come out of it well. In his first speech, Gaitskell denounced Nasser, comparing him with Hitler, approved the troop movements and agreed that Nasser must not get away with it. But he then surrendered to the pacifists, the friends of every country but their own, the men to whom Britain is always wrong. ...

4.X.1956. London

p.291/292

Moreover Dulles is distorting the issues. ... On October 2nd he taunts us with that beloved expression 'colonialism', trying to make out that the Suez dispute is the result of British Colonialism. It deliberately misrepresents the Suez issue. ...



Nobody appears to recognize the big issue behind the Suez dispute, which is Russian domination of the Middle East and all countries from Morocco to the Persian Gulf.

It is quite clear that Egypt's aim after securing the Canal - and this she will do thanks to the Americans and the blundering of our politicians - is to attack Israel with the help of Russian arms. I have to-day seen an order issued by the Commander of Egypt's 3rd Infantry Division deployed near El Arish. It was issued on February 15th and reads:

'Every commander must prepare himself and his soldiers for the important battle with Israel in which we are fully immersed, with the aim of realizing our lofty tradition, that is to overpower and destroy Israel in the shortest possible time and with the greatest brutality and bestiality in battle.'

There is no doubt that this attack on Israel is imminent. But I have no fear. The Jews are second to none in fighting qualities; their equipment is varied and of many types and they are capable of defeating any Arab army or combination of armies which can be put into the field. They could be on the Suez Canal in two days and in Damascus in less than that time.

But what the Israelis possess is fanatical determination, great skill and the technique of a rapid mobilization which enables them to put in the field a quarter of a million men and women in forty-eight hours. Israel has also the immense advantage of a highly educated population, technically skilled, to whom modern military equipment presents no great mysteries.

8.X.1956. London  
p.294/295

...American leadership cannot be directed at anything other than American interests. ... Western Europe should become a moral, economic and political bloc, subject neither to American domination or leadership, nor to threats and taunts from Russia or from Asian-Arab so-called anti-colonial Powers. The United States, obsessed with undermining British prestige throughout the world and clinging to that call of hypocrisy 'anti-colonialism', has gone full speed in reverse and is rapidly reaching the stage of turning a blind eye to the burglar having the run of the house, because it is not an American house. ...

...

We should remember that America's dollar greatness has accrued through selfish neutrality in two world wars, in which she only took part after two years' hesitation at the expense of suffering humanity. We have no guarantee that this might not recur. In the event of a Russian-sponsored invasion of Western Germany by East Germany, America might still hesitate as she has done on two occasions and only risk herself when the tide begins to turn. ...

...Fear of using force encourages aggression. ...

...And it soon emerged that neither we nor the Americans had any definite policy for the Middle East. Arms and dollars are no policy and could not stand up to professional propagandists, sociologists, economists and diplomats such as the Kremlin employed in their cold war, all ingredients of successful communist penetration. The Kremlin made common cause with Arab nationalism; both we and the Americans assumed a paternal interest in the Arab States, appeasing them with dollars and weapons. The Western blunders have been the Kremlin's greatest asset; and petty jealousies and rivalries between the United States, France and Britain made Russian infiltration all the easier.

14.X.1956. London

p.297

In the Middle East there is an amazing mess of inconsistencies. Let me go back. The Balfour Declaration grants to the Jews a right to establish their national home in Palestine. Every obstacle has been placed in their way by successive British Governments. Then Churchill in 1921 hands over Transjordan, an integral part of Palestine, to an Arab sheikh who is made a 'king'. Then Bevin, unable to keep order in Palestine and influenced by anti-semitism in his office, scuttles out of Palestine leaving the Jews at the mercy of six Arab States who promptly invade Palestine and attempt what Bevin wished, to drive the Jews into the sea. Israel had to fight for her life in 1948, and lost much land including the whole of eastern Palestine, Old Jerusalem and the Gaza strip. Britain stands by and does nothing, though when Egypt gets a thrashing and Israel is about to overrun Sinai and march on the Suez Canal (which she would have internationalized) Britain, through the United States (for we were not then on speaking terms with Israel), tells Israel to stop. Israel, being young and a bit nervous, stops. Then Egypt stops Israeli shipping passing through the Canal and up the Gulf of Aqaba. She is condemned by the Security Council who are impotent and unwilling to go beyond a reprimand.

Jordan is heavily subsidized by Britain and British officers are with the Jordan forces; and yet this country is bitterly hostile to Britain and in thorough sympathy with Egypt. We have poured arms into Jordan, whilst refusing arms to Israel. Jordan, at the instigation of Egypt, conducts a campaign of frontier raids into Israel and Israel retaliates with success. Jordan gets frightened and asks for aid from Iraq who sends troops towards Jordan. Israel says that if Iraq troops enter Jordan a very serious situation will arise. Britain warns Israel, that if she crosses the Jordan frontier, she will come to Jordan's aid. Israel is our only friend in the Middle East and we not only ignore her but quarrel with her. Jordan loathes us and is supporting Egypt and we support her with arms and money.



June 6th, 1955:

We emphasize once more that Israel will not exist long in the land of Arabism, and that there will be no negotiations between the robbers and their victims.

June 17th, 1955:

We have sworn on oath - which we will never break - before Almighty God that we will fight to drive you out, that we will fight you across every inch of Palestine.

August 31st, 1955:

Egypt is preparing millions of Commandos to be used against you.

October 29th, 1955:

There will be no stability until this small but evil State is stifled.

In face of these threats, the United Nations fail to see the seeds of armed aggression and appear to think that if a man advances on you with an axe, you must not defend yourself until he actually strikes. Israel is accused of an act of aggression. Is warding-off a long-advertised attack an act of aggression? Is defence an act of aggression?

31.X.1956. Norfolk

p.301

...The Arab States have announced their intention to wipe out Israel; Egypt has been conducting raids into Israel territory for many months and has been receiving immense quantities of arms and other assistance from Russia; the United Nations have proved themselves to be an ineffective instrument for enforcing order anywhere in the world and Russia is interfering effectively in the Middle East and giving all the support she can to the Arab States with whom we are now in active conflict.

1.XI.1956. Norfolk

p.302

...Success depends largely on speed.

2.XI.1956. Norfolk

p.303

...Israel now has the whole of Sinai and Ben-Gurion speaks as though he means to keep it.

3.XI.1956. Suffolk

p.303

...What a pity Israel did not go on and occupy the Canal Zone.

5.XI.1956. London

p.304

Gaitskell, an old Wykhamist, bears a heavy load of responsibility for splitting the country in two for party purposes. ...

10.XI.1956. London

p.304/305

On the 7th, Ben-Gurion addressed the Knesset in Jerusalem, a victory speech, confident that at last Israel was secure. But to-day Russian preparations in Syria have cast a gloom

over Israel. Ben-Gurion announced a complete reversal of his victory speech. He offers to withdraw from Sinai. Victory has been turned into defeat. What influenced Ben-Gurion? A substantial threat from Russia, also an economic threat from America. It is also suspected that both Britain and France have told Israel that they would not be in a position to help Israel if the Russians attacked on the Korean pattern. This is tragic and very disappointing. Are we really going to stand aside and see Israel wiped out by Arabs assisted by Russia, America would not doubt find all sorts of reasons for non-intervention. But we, having given Israel their National Home, can hardly stand aside and see her wiped out. If so, it will be a disgrace from which we shall never recover.

...But it is all very depressing and might never have happened if only we and the U.S.A. would stand up to Russia.

11.XI.1956. London

p.305/306

I am most disappointed at our very limited success in Egypt. ...

...

We should have acted and landed in Egypt when Nasser seized the Canal many weeks ago; but, not having done so, Israel invaded and swept out the Egyptians. We should have encouraged them to occupy the Canal Zone until United Nations forces could take over. We did not do so but landed at Port Said after a much-too-long air attack. We should then have pushed south down the Canal and completed its occupation or have asked the Israelis to do so. And, finally, we should stand up to Russia, outlaw her ...

...

I should tell the Arab States in no uncertain terms that if they persist in their policy of trying to destroy Israel, both we and America and the whole of the Free Nations would give Israel every possible assistance.

I should approach Israel with a view to setting up our Middle East Base at Haifa; if she refuses, as I suspect she would now, she might agree to 'staff talks', or occupy Sinai.

And finally I should publish to the world about Russian Labour and Concentration Camps and the cruelties being perpetrated on thousands of people because they disagree with Russian policy; this great Russian crime is even worse than the Concentration Camps of Hitler, which were never published until after the 1939 war broke out.

12.XI.1956. London

p.306

Bevan, with his magnetic influence over mobs of people incapable of thinking, is doing his best to keep the country divided on the Suez Canal issue.



Russia now threatens to send thousands of 'volunteers' to the Middle East unless Israel retires to the Armistice Line and we and the French evacuate the Canal Zone. Russia claims that this is a spontaneous movement by outraged citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Russia is certainly making capital out of the Suez Crisis. She is trying to build up a second Korea and also trying to cover up her atrocities in Hungary.

16.XI.1956. London

p.307/308

...The assault on Egypt was too long delayed and once started with success was checked with a bewildering and humiliating effect on the troops and on this country. We should either have encouraged Israel to occupy the whole Canal Zone or done it ourselves in the face of the United Nations and Russia. Instead we have achieved nothing. The cease-fire order was a catastrophe no doubt sponsored by the United States...

19.XI.1956. London

p.308/309

Work began at Basrah to-day on unloading a shipment of arms for Iraq from Britain. This is the second shipment to arrive in recent weeks, the earlier shipment having included tanks.

...

We are pouring arms into Iraq, the sole purpose of which can be to attack Israel. Will our Foreign Office never learn? They are dragging Britain down by their ruinous Middle East policy of appeasing the Arabs and hostility to Israel and by their inability to stand up to America.

22.XI.1956. London

p.309/310

...why, if there was collusion, did we stop Israel just as she was reaching the Canal; it was one of Eden's great blunders.

...Never in my life has a Prime Minister and a Government made such a criminal mess of a situation which could have been solved by firmness and common sense; ... Eden's folly has been made worse by the action of the United States who are more intent on crippling us than standing up to Russia.

The Suez Canal remains in the hands of the defeated (by Israel) Nasser who is now dictating to the United Nations.

...

The outcome of our stupidity has been that we have not occupied the Canal Zone which is under Nasser's control except for a few miles south of Port Said, the Canal is blocked, oil supplies blocked for months, our own prestige sunk further, Israel who made our task easy feels frustrated, and the way opened for further Russian intrusion.

...

Why did we not co-operate with the Israeli Army and ask them to secure the west bank of the Canal and wipe out half Nasser's army instead of only a quarter?

Eden stopped Israel doing the right thing, knowing full well they would succeed, namely occupy the Suez Canal area and signally defeat the Egyptian Army, because he thought he could do it better himself and he did not wish Israel to get the credit for solving once and for all the Canal question.

4.XII.1956. London

p.311-313

He (Eden) stops the Israelis from occupying the Canal before Nasser blocked it, then he makes a perfectly futile landing at Port Said and listens to hysterical and impotent United Nations' orders to stop, when he might have occupied the whole Canal Zone. If Eden had showed determination and strength, Britain would have recovered her prestige, Nasser would have been humbled and a definite setback would have been administered to Russian infiltration into the Middle East. ...

...America persuades us to evacuate the Canal Zone without obtaining Egyptian guarantees for free passage of all ships of all nations through the Canal; ...

...

When Dulles and Eisenhower rushed to Nasser's defence, forced Britain and France to stop and told the world that we were committing unjustified aggression, Nasser won back everything he had lost, blocked the Canal and proclaimed to the world that he had won.

...The real issue is Russian dominance of the Middle East ...

...'Leave it to the United Nations and under no circumstances use force' has become a silly slogan which has disrupted the West and ignored the real issue which is Russia.

7.XII.1956. London

p.313/314

...We asked him (Colonel Aharon Doron) many questions and I am more than satisfied that:

...

(g) Israel must be absolutely firm in not retiring east of the old Turkish frontier Rafa-Zuez until either Britain or the United Nations occupy east and south Sinai. Ben-Gurion must be adamant on this point.

16.XII.1956. Drovers, Sussex

p.315

...with a victorious Israeli army occupying the whole of Sinai and ourselves in possession of Port Said, it would have been so easy to proclaim the Canal to be an International Waterway.

16.XII.1956. London

p.315/316

...Nehru is a humbug mixture of sanctimony, priggishness and deceit. Though head of a State bound to the Commonwealth, he preaches against it. He has been ruthless over Kashmir and Hyderabad and Goa, and said not a word when

China enslaved Tibet. He condemned Anglo-French occupation of Port Said and lent his name to mendacious statistics about Egyptian casualties published by Nasser; and he has supported Russia over her atrocities in Hungary, saying we must not allow 'our attention to be distracted from the Egyptian question by harping on events in Hungary'.

21.XII.1956. London  
p.316

The obvious solution to the Middle East muddle must include an alternative route to the Suez Canal, for so long as Egypt holds it she will use it for blackmail and political purposes. ...

...

But to return to my solution:

(a) We must have an alternative route to the Suez Canal.

...

(c) We must give Israel security.

...

The following suggestion solves these problems:

(1) The Sinai Peninsula does not belong to Egypt east of the old Turkish frontier Rafa Suez. ...

...

(3) A second Canal must be built across Sinai from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Aqaba. ...

(4) Sinai would then provide work for the Arab refugees and later on for maintenance.

Christmas Day, 1956. London  
p.317

...Meanwhile there is delay over clearing the Canal and Egyptian troops are re-occupying Sinai under Burns and his gang of useless observers. The U.S.A. is at the bottom of all this. What does Eisenhower or Dulles or any American care about clearing the Canal, the murder of British officers or stopping Egypt from attacking Israel?

## Chapter VII: Suez

8.I.1957. London  
p.318

On the 6th, Nasser, now triumphant, declares he will not allow British and French ships through the Suez Canal so long as Israel does not withdraw from the Gaza Strip and that no ships would be permitted to use the Canal unless they paid their dues to the Egyptian authority. Apparently Britain was assured by the Secretary-General of the United Nations before we withdrew from Port Said that there would be no discrimination; another case of impotence of UNO and also American double-dealing.

9.I.1957. London  
p.318

...Eden has resigned because he has been a complete failure and has humiliated Britain to a greater degree than any man has done before. He proved himself to be weak, incapable of strong action, he could not act

decisively in a moment of crisis, he had no resolution, no policy beyond appeasement, and bad health.

10.I.1957. London

p.319

The abdication of the upper classes who suffered most during both World Wars, and in the years following, is mainly responsible for our malaise. ... The country is in despair, the lower classes, who care for nothing beyond wages, television, dog racing and the jealousy of seeing better men than they are, better off, find themselves in power - dictators.

18.I.1957. London

p.319/320

At a United Nations meeting to-day Britain supported the Afro-Asian bloc in demanding the complete evacuation of Sinai, including the Gaza strip, by Israel; so Macmillan is little better than Eden. The incredible stupidity of supporting our enemies - the Arab States and that dreamer Nehru - and rebuffing our only friend in the Middle East, is infuriating and bewildering.

19.I.1957. London

p.320

The United Nations have ordered Israel to withdraw from Sinai including the Gaza strip. I hope Israel refuses. This abject surrender to the Arab States is not only humiliating but stupid beyond belief. I believe at the back of it is unconscious anti-semitism.

When Egypt flouted the United Nations and closed the Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping, though this constituted an act of aggression, no action was taken; and when the Egyptian Government trained and used bands of fedayeen (bandits) to raid and murder in Israel, the United Nations did nothing.

And now the United Nations refer to Israel's retaliation as 'colonialism'.

24.I.1957. Edinburgh

p.320/321

Came up to Edinburgh to-day by rail, travelling with an unknown Lord, a Left-wing socialist, who left the train at Newcastle. I do not know his name but he had a coronet and W on his brief-case. He started the conversation on the Middle East as he saw me reading my 'explosion'. He thought our invasion of Egypt a gross case of aggression, that the Suez Canal belonged to Egypt and we had no right to interfere and that in any case we should have referred the matter to the United Nations. I told him that if the Israeli army had reached the Canal, Nasser's army would have been broken up, very much to our advantage; his reply to that was 'Those bloody Jews are a perfect nuisance.'

I told him I could not continue arguing with a man infected with such a foul disease as anti-semitism, so we switched on to Labour and Socialism. ...

...I wish I knew his name.



24.I.1957. Edinburgh

p.321

Israel's terms for withdrawal from Sinai are published in to-day's "Times". ... I do hope Ben-Gurion stands firm in face of American bluster and threat and British grovelling to the Arabs.

28.I.1957. London

p.322

A resolution passed almost unanimously by the United Nations orders Israel to quit the whole of the Sinai Peninsula including Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh. France alone voted against the resolution. We, to our shame, voted for it. ...

...

Israel cannot return to the status quo. This is what Egypt wants after a colossal defeat in Sinai and after blocking the Canal and disrupting our economy. Israel is demanding watertight guarantees of security before she hands over the Gaza strip and command of the Gulf of Aqaba.

This is not a test for Israel, still less for Egypt. It is a test for the United Nations.

2.II.1957. London

p.322/323

Whilst clamouring for sanctions against Israel because she refuses to expose herself to annihilation and refuses to evacuate Sinai until she has guarantees for her security, the Council takes little notice of Nehru's ruthless action over Kashmir; but every device of pressure is being used to rob Israel of the safety which her army recently won for her in Sinai.

...

The United Nations proposals in the Middle East might well have been drafted by Nasser and are quite unacceptable to Israel who, thank God, is standing firm. The United Nations have two standards of morality - leaving Egypt free to defy her obligations and United Nations resolutions, whilst insisting on Israel complying with a measure which is suicidal. An aggressor like Nehru or Nasser can get away with the spoils, whilst those nations who, despairing of getting justice which for years they have demanded, ultimately act in self-defence are then humiliated and punished.

3.II.1957. London

p.323

...In Hungary their (the United Nations) resolutions have been ignored and jeered at. ... they (the U.N.) are no nearer a solution in the Israel-Arab dispute than they were in 1949. It is pure folly to expect from the United Nations that which it is by its nature incapable of performing.

7.II.1957. London

p.324

...and the gross injustice being meted out to Israel by the United Nations. I am delighted to see Ben-Gurion is holding out and refuses to evacuate Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh without water-tight guarantees against further Egyptian aggression.



8.II.1957. London  
p.324/325

I had already pointed out in my 'explosion' that Egypt had no sovereign rights in Sinai. In to-day's "Times" appears a letter from Lord Soulbury stressing this point and recommending that the United Nations take over this explosive region. I had a letter yesterday from the Editor of "The Times" who had seen my 'explosion' asking me to contribute something on this subject, so I sent him the following letter:

"Middle East: Fact and Emotion.

Sir: In your issue of January 26th, Mr. R.R. Stokes quotes Mr. Ben-Gurion as saying he did not attack Egypt proper. That assertion is perfectly true. The Israeli army attacked and occupied No-man's-land.

The old Turkish-Egyptian boundary before 1906 ran from Rafa in the north to Suez. The whole of east, central and southern Sinai was part of the Ottoman Empire. But, in October 1906, Egypt was granted administrative rights in Sinai east of a line drawn from Rafa to near Elath in the Gulf of Akaba. This agreement, which I have studied, stresses the retention of Turkish sovereignty, which remained Turkish territory until 1927 when, by the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey relinquished all her Arab territories, which, by the right of conquest, were at the disposal of Britain.

In 1926, Lord Lloyd asked the Foreign Office if the 1906 agreement was still valid and was told that it was. This was personally confirmed to me by Lloyd in 1928.

Egypt's only rights in Sinai are administrative and these have been abused by using Sinai as a base for fedayeen raids and erecting coastal batteries at the mouth of the Gulf of Akaba.

I am, etc.

February 9, 1957.

R. Meinertzhagen"

Meanwhile over eighty nations have supported, under United States influence, a motion requiring Israel to withdraw from Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh without any guarantees from Egypt. Israel flatly refuses to do so. Splendid. This is monstrous. Every one of those eighty nations knows it would not comply with such a demand if it were in Israel's position.

Moreover since 1948, Egypt has claimed belligerent rights against Israel. Since 1951 these rights have been blatantly exercised in defiance of the United Nations Security Council. If Egypt insists on being free to exercise these belligerent rights against Israel, then Israel is clearly justified in defending herself. It seems that the United Nations deny to Israel the rights of self-defence. And since when is an attack by one nation at war with another termed an act of aggression? Egypt cannot have it both ways, claiming a right to attack Israel and at the same time claiming that an Israel attack is an act of aggression.

Egypt has constantly claimed that she is at war with Israel and the Security Council have failed utterly to stop this aggressive act; is not being at war with another country an act of aggression? Or must we wait until an actual attack takes place?

10.II.1957. London

p.325/326

I do not think much of Hammarskjöld. Israel has begged him to ask Nasser whether he considered that Egypt is still at war with Israel. He refused to do so, presumably because it would be embarrassing to the Egyptian dictator. He is under the influence of Eisenhower and Dulles, forgetting he is the servant of eighty-eight states. ...

...

Letter sent to the "Sunday Times" on February 11th and which they refused to publish:

"Sir: With reference to your short para 'Britain Saved Egypt in 1948', I might elaborate. On December 31st, 1948, the American Ambassador to Israel was instructed to convey to Israel that Great Britain would enter the war against Israel unless Israel withdrew her troops from Egyptian territory. Britain was then not on speaking terms with Israel. Ben-Gurion was informed that evening: he pointed out that Israel was in friendly touch with the Security Council and not in conflict with it; Britain cannot make herself sole judge of an alleged violation of Security Council recommendations; Israel is only engaged in self-defence; she has been attacked by six Arab States whose troops are still on Palestine soil; Israel must be allowed to defend herself; Egypt has occupied part of Palestine (Gaza), why should not Israel occupy part of Egypt.

On January 2nd, 1949, all Israeli troops had retired from Egyptian territory, but the Egyptians still remained in Gaza; and on the same day an Egyptian plane dropped bombs on Jerusalem, the first occasion on which bombs had been dropped on the Holy City.

On January 7th, 1949, British aircraft flew over South Palestine and five were shot down by the Israelis.

Ben-Gurion's decision to give way was psychological, due to the youth and inexperience of the young Israel. I have satisfied myself that, if Britain had not interfered, not only would there have been no Gaza strip but the Canal would have been reached by Israel in forty-eight hours and internationalized.

Britain repeated this ghastly error in November last when she stopped Israel reaching the Canal and wiping out Nasser's army. Britain saved Egypt twice: Nasser's gratitude is obvious.

R.M."

21.II.1957. London

p.326/327

A monstrous, spiteful, dishonest and typically American broadcast by Eisenhower on Israel withdrawal from Sinai. Egyptian aggression against Israel during the past nine years, Egyptian claims that she is still at war with Israel and is determined to exterminate her, the fact that Sinai is not Egyptian territory, that Israel acted in self-defence last November - are all ignored and replaced by a lot of vague platitudes about the sanctity of the United Nations and the wisdom of the allies. It is the most blatant example of the influence of oil and big business on American foreign policy. If Israel refuses, sanctions are suggested. There is no talk of sanctions and pressure against Egypt for defying the United Nations in closing the Canal and the Gulf of Akaba to Israel shipping, no mention of using the Gaza strip as a base from which to attack Israel, no mention of sanctions against Russia for her crimes in Hungary. There is no justice in Eisenhower or Dulles, just self-interest and appeasement of the Arab States: there is no hint of guarantees to Israel if she evacuates Sinai. It is a double standard, one for the Arab States, one for Israel.

The United Nations assembly is neither a legislative body nor a court of justice; its resolutions have no legal status. Israel's contention that she acted in self-defence when she invaded Sinai has never been answered and is in fact unanswerable. Eisenhower, in appeasing the Afro-Asian bloc, is inviting Israel to commit suicide. No array of pious platitudes can disguise the absurdity and gross injustice of that.

28.II.1957. London

p.327/328

In order to appease the Arabs and strangle Israel America asked the Germans to discontinue sending goods to Israel under the reparations agreement. I am glad to say Adenauer refused. It shows to what lengths America will go to destroy Israel. These reparations are a decisive factor in Israel's economy, amounting to about one-quarter of the country's total imports. The United States have twice appealed to the Bonn Government to give an assurance that it would stop the payment of reparations. Adenauer has rejected both appeals. Splendid.

1.III.1957. London

p.328

I was sorry to hear on the nine o'clock news that Israel has agreed to evacuate Sinai, trusting the United States to keep the Gulf of Aqaba open and not allow the Egyptians back in Gaza. A great error has been made. The United States have no intention of honouring the agreement; all they care about is their own interests - oil and dollars coupled with world domination.

3.III.1957. London

p.328/329

...Dulles and Eisenhower have encouraged Nasser to play his own game and I am convinced that as soon as Israel evacuates Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt will walk in again and nobody can stop her. Burns and his 4,000 will be brushed aside, Burns will be delighted and I hope Israel will then hit back and show the world she is in earnest. Perhaps Dulles and Eisenhower will realize what silly little men they are. ...

...a policy of appeasing our enemies and frustrating our friends. It is amazing that politicians can be so stupid.

...

Every support should be given to Israel by the United Nations and individual nations for the act of faith which she has performed; but I fear Nasser will be allowed to get his way and that will lead to another Israel invasion of Sinai.

4.III.1957. London

p.329

Israel, realizing the inadequacy and double-dealing of the United States and her appeasement policy towards the Arabs, has, thank God, decided not to evacuate Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh without adequate assurances for her security. I fear tremendous pressure will be brought against her by the U.S.A. and ourselves, in order to appease the Arabs.

Why does not the U.S.A. apply to Egypt a little of the pressure she is applying ruthlessly to Israel? The Americans are disregarding the plain realities of the situation. Israel is more clear-sighted. She knows perfectly well that Egypt has no intention of complying with her international obligations. The United Nations Emergency Force is even now not providing a deterrent against Egyptian incursions into Israel. On what grounds do Eisenhower and Dulles assume that if Israel evacuates Sinai, Nasser will not continue his aggression and close both Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping?

5.III.1957. London

p.329

Ben-Gurion has changed his mind and Israel is to evacuate Sinai without conditions; no doubt America has used every underhand means to achieve this. I am very sorry as it must mean further armed clashes; Egypt will re-occupy Sinai including Gaza and she will continue to close the Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping; that means more war ...

9.III.1957. London

p.330

His (Nasser's) next move will be the re-occupation of the Gaza strip and Sharm el Sheikh and the resumption of fedayeen raids into Israel.

14.III.1957. London

p.330

The moment Israel evacuates Gaza at the insistence of Eisenhower and Dulles, Nasser appoints a commander in Gaza, an Egyptian general, who enters Gaza. Israel is furious and this in spite of Eisenhower's promise to Ben-Gurion 'If Israel withdraws, you will not regret it'. And the United



Nations allow the man to enter Gaza. There is one law for Israel and another for Egypt.

...

Israel was given very dubious assurances about Gaza and the Gulf of Aqaba; but as an act of faith and trust in the United Nations (which is in fact now the United States) she withdrew and in walks Nasser. Nasser can defy the United Nations as much as he wishes and has done so for many years; but if Israel asks for guarantees for her security, she gets nothing but snubs and bullying from Eisenhower and Dulles.

Gaza has now reverted to what it was before October 29th - a base for a further campaign of terror against Israel.

...The failure of the United States has not been through lack of warning; their policy has been based on evasion of fact and on contamination by oil.

21.III.1957. London

p.331/332

Will U.N.O. now insist on Egypt fulfilling the four conditions she imposed; it will not be achieved by negotiation, for Nasser knows perfectly well he has all the cards in his hands - deliberately placed there by the United States. ... So it looks as though Nasser will get away with it until Israel is forced to do what U.N.O. should have done long ago.

...

Meanwhile Israel has gone to the limit in jeopardizing her security. Hammerskjold has done great harm with his placatory interview with Nasser, giving way at every point when, in his strong position, he could insist on Egypt fulfilling her obligations under international law. ...

...

It is of course a reversal of international justice. The peace which the Americans imposed last November is no peace at all; the Egyptians say it is not and the Israelis know it is not. This is but the beginning of a situation which the Americans have aggravated and which is certain to worsen.

6.IV.1957. London

p.332

...U.N.O. has become impotent, thanks to Dulles, Eisenhower and Hammerskjold. Nasser still refuses to open the Canal to Israeli shipping until the problem of the Arab refugees is settled to his satisfaction. He has displaced the ridiculous U.N.E.F. in every sphere of activity in Gaza. Every single assumption on which Israel withdrew from Sinai has been betrayed.

10.V.1957. London

p.333

...But the Middle East volcano is still active and the Arabs are still united in the destruction of Israel. Nasser, the original aggressor, has won.



23.V.1957. London

p.334

The Middle East is as critical as ever and the only satisfaction expressed by anyone comes from Russia and Egypt. ...

...

Why was tremendous pressure brought on Israel to abandon Sinai including the Gaza strip and Sharm el Sheikh? Why has no pressure been brought on Egypt to observe international obligations? The answer is oil and appeasement.

...Egypt's claim of belligerency is contrary to the basic principles of the U.N. Charter which does not and cannot recognize a state of war between its member States.

5.VI.1957. London

p.334-336

For many years the West has made the error of thinking Arab friendship can be gained by political appeasement with economic and military gifts and loans. This glaring fallacy has been exposed on many occasions but the policy persists. Russia has taken advantage of our errors and is creating a second Korea in the Middle East by encouraging Syria and Egypt to accept arms and adopt communist ideals; this is all aimed at the West; Egypt and Syria will become Russian satellites, the first to have no common frontier with Russia. What the West has tried to avert has now materialized; Russia has obtained a foothold in the Middle East. ...

...

And still Britain and America do nothing. I believe a solution is to be found in the disputed sovereignty of Suez which I claim belongs to Britain - east of the Suez-Rafa line.

...

If it is accepted that the sovereignty of Eastern Sinai is vested in Britain, there are four courses:

...

(2) Hand the disputed territory to Israel. ...

...In Sinai the nomad population is negligible.

...

A British Base in Sinai places us not only in a favourable strategic position in the Middle East, but enables us to take immediate and effective action against Egypt should she close the Suez Canal to British shipping.

Israel is our only friend in the Middle East. Should we establish a British Base in Sinai, she provides an extra security.

...

A British occupation of Sinai would be a smack in the face for Russia as it prevents co-operation between Egypt and Syria. We would naturally have to face violent criticism from the Arab States, Russia, India and from the United States. But with the right on our side, let us take action which will solve our difficulties and regain us the respect we have lost.

A British occupation of Sinai would also enable a second Canal to be built through British territory and under British or British-Israel control.

8.IX.1957. London  
p.337-339

That man Dulles is a menace. ... Britain should occupy Sinai and isolate Egypt. ...

...

The sending of arms to Jordan, whose main policy is the destruction of Israel, will cause considerable uneasiness in Israel. And Dulles says these arms will not be used against Israel; how can he possibly stop it? This American move has worsened the Middle East situation.

...

Russia's recent policy in the Middle East is clear. She aims at dominating Egypt and the Suez Canal, a strategic life-line of the West, she wants to get control of the Middle East oil and she wants to win over the Arab States in the Middle East. She makes full political use of the Arab-Jew hatred and of Arab nationalist aspirations; also of Anglo-American jealousies and divergent policies; Russia also wants to win over the Arabs of North Africa, thus placing the whole of Africa within her grasp. If she succeeds she has cut Europe-Africa and Europe-Asia communications completely.

Russia gains every advantage by conducting a cold war. I do not believe Russia is any more capable of conducting a hot war than we are. She is not only fearful of United States superiority in nuclear warfare but of unrest among her satellites. This latter fear is very real. Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Caucasus and Mongolia are all potential areas of discontent and active resistance. Russian methods towards her satellites have made them explosive and dangerous.

Russia's self-imposed isolation is understandable. The Iron Curtain is vital for her security. People who have never known freedom regard slavery as quite normal; but if they were to taste freedom they would realize the horrors of slavery. That is why the Iron Curtain has been drawn down.

The West has not been sufficiently active and intelligent in meeting Russian aggression.

The worst answer to Russian penetration into the Middle East is arming the Arab States, for those arms can only be used for aggression against Israel or another Arab State.

I should tell all States in the Middle East that any act of aggression will be met by armed interference by Britain, France and the United States.

...Russia is going to be of great assistance to Nasser, not only in perfecting his technique but in supplying all manner of material and technicians.

... Having secured the Suez Canal he (Nasser) will now concentrate on bullying Sudan and extending his influence to Uganda so as to gain the whole Nile valley. He will also try to make the Red Sea a mare clausum, fortifying the coast and islands and extending his influence south to Aden and Yemen. Yemen, under Nasser's and Russian influence, will welcome the idea of taking over Aden. ... It is all so clear to me, and so obscure to our politicians. ...

...Weakness never achieves anything but disaster.

10.IX.1957. London

p.340/341

...Russia does not have to do anything; the apples fall ripe into her capacious lap. America - and to a lesser extent Britain - have for many years flooded the Middle East with arms out of all proportion to what is required for defence and are now aggrieved to find these arms being used for aggression against Israel and the Sudan.

The American attitude towards what they call colonialism is sheer hypocrisy. They forget that the real Americans are the Red Indians; that the vast tracts of the United States and Canada were the homes of the Red Indians. There was an orgy of bloodshed and slaughter, the indigenous tribes being exterminated and confined to reserves; the Red Indian rebelled against the newcomers and was decimated and deprived of his land; and not only the Indians but the new American colonists went out and slaughtered thousand of buffalo for the love of killing. ...

...

It was the Americans who retained slavery of the African long after Europe had abandoned it; ...

7.X.1957. Wiltshire

p.343

I am shocked to see the United States are still pouring arms into Jordan; when will they learn sense; the U.S.A. in sheer stupidity think these arms will be used against Russian arms in Syria, but in fact they are all going to be used against Israel, or by the Arab States, fighting among themselves.

16.X.1957. London

p.343/344

Kruschev has addressed a long letter to seven European Socialist Parties, including the British Labour Party. Apart from the ill manners of going behind the British Government, the letter contains all the old accusations of imperialism and aggression of which Russia alone is guilty. Russia is responsible for stirring up trouble in Egypt. Russia has poured arms into Syria and Egypt, and without any foundation accuses Turkey of planning an invasion of Syria.

The political importance of the Arab States is not so much the oil they own, but the use such decadent and backward States can be to unscrupulous Powers like Russia. There is no doubt that Russia has discovered the weak

spot and is making fullest use of it; her policy in the Middle East is stiffening as America and ourselves indulge in nothing but fruitless talk.

If I were Macmillan I should return Krushev's letter to the Kremlin, telling him politely that he is a liar and a cad; I should then invite Israel to join the Baghdad Pact even if it meant the resignation of Iraq, and I should claim the sovereignty over Sinai and occupy it. It is time drastic action was taken, replacing the inevitable talk of professional politicians.

...

The main causes of the world's unhappiness and chaos are Communism and its export from Russia, an almost universal craving for nationalism, Russia's imperialistic and colonial ambitions including a dozen European countries which she dominates ...

21.X.1957. London

p.345

Our first duty is to stop arming the Arab States and appeasing them; and at the same time encourage and become friends with Israel, the only stable and reliable force in the Middle East. And we must persuade the United States to do likewise. If the present drift continues, we shall face disaster.

12.XI.1957. London

345

And now we and the United States continue our criminal policy of arming Arab States - this time, Tunis... It is all done for fear Russia might give arms to Tunis. ...

15.XI.1957. London

p.345

Yemen, backed by Russia and Egypt, has been raiding and murdering in the Aden Protectorate for months past. ...

7.XII.1957. London

p.346

Hammarskjold has flown to Jerusalem to settle the question as to whether an Israeli convoy to Mount Scopus shall be allowed by Jordan to proceed; the convoy contains nine barrels of oil for the maintenance of the Israeli garrison on Mount Scopus. The whole Israel-Arab situation is a disgrace to the United Nations; the Hebrew University is in Jordan and rapidly decaying; the Jews are not allowed to visit their Holy Places, which, under the Armistice agreement, they are allowed to do. It demonstrates the shocking impotence of the United Nations and the Armistice Commission; Israel is made to suffer whilst nothing is done to enforce decisions of the United Nations where Egypt is concerned. The Suez Canal is still denied to Israel and appeasement of the Arab States at the expense of Israel is still both British and American policy.

It was in large part due to American pressure and the American policy that we abandoned Abadan and the Suez Canal.



27.XII.1957. London

p.347/348

...It (Eden's Suez disaster) removed Western influence from the Middle East and encouraged African nationalists and political agitators to turn to Cairo for guidance and encouragement.

Throughout the Middle East and throughout Africa, we shall soon see nationalism, with all the violence of mob and riot, upsetting stable government and reversion to petty little dictators, all modelling themselves on the design of Nasser. ...Nasser, the Egyptian Hitler whose policy is to remove Western influence from the Middle East and destroy Israel. ...

...do these backward people want democracy or, if they want it, could it function among a society where ninety per cent are uneducated? God knows, democracy has the greatest difficulty in functioning where the population is ninety per cent educated.

...the only country which will remain stable is Israel; can she exist with the scorching flames of nationalism almost surrounding her? I have faith, but Israel is in for a tough time.

25.VII.1958. London

p.348-350

On July 14th, a bloody revolution broke out in Iraq; the King, the Crown Prince and Nuri were murdered ... Within a few days the British Government recognize the revolutionary government in Iraq in spite of its anti-British flavour; this is in marked contrast to the many months which elapsed before we recognized the State of Israel whom we shamefully abandoned in 1948.

...pent-up hatred and violence must cause increased anxiety especially on the Jordan-Israel frontier and may tempt Israel to recover what rightly belongs to her west of the River Jordan.

...As the destruction of Israel is the main objective of the Arabs, so the defence of Israel must be the main concern of those nations interested in the Middle East; the destruction of Israel would be a world disaster and a disgrace to civilization.

Therefore, before contemplating a summit meeting, I should ask Krushchev if he would be prepared to join the West in guaranteeing the sovereignty of Israel, in compelling the Arab States to establish peace with Israel and in stopping all further supplies of arms to the Arab States. Without such an assurance from Krushchev there is no possibility of arriving at a solution and a summit meeting would be a waste of time.



Epilogue

p.352

The Jews entered Palestine (Canaan) from Egypt about 1,500 years before the birth of Jesus; the dispersal took place about AD 200. Palestine had therefore been their home for about 1,700 years; since their dispersal they have been subjected to every kind of indignity, torture and slaughter. And yet during 1,750 years in isolated colonies from Pakistan to Morocco and from the United States to South Africa they have retained their racial distinction and have not disintegrated except in very few cases of compulsory conversion to Islam.

...

To the Jew the ultimate meaning of human life is disclosed in the Old Testament. The Exodus is recalled and again enacted at the Passover. ...

...

The Jewish religion is a way of living, permeating everyday life with small but sacred ceremonial acts. Their religion is more than a simple belief and more than a moral guidance; all life is embraced in their religion.

...Moreover the ceremonial of the Jewish religion is reduced to a minimum in contrast with the pomp and sometimes vulgar ceremonial of some of the Christian versions of Christianity. I often wonder what Jesus' reaction would be if He saw the Vatican during a Papal coronation, or what would be His reaction if He saw the Dean of an English Cathedral being ushered to the pulpit by two acolytes walking backwards in front of him.

...

I believe all Israelis harbour an element of religious truth, some unconsciously, which permeates into their army; I believe that all leadership and military discipline is prompted by religious truth; there must be no hatred, no cruelty, nothing which conflicts with the spirit of Christianity though it is unnecessary to be a confessed Christian. And incidentally there is nothing in the teachings of Jesus which cannot be found in the Old Testament.

...I believe the Israeli army is naturally inspired by spiritual purpose, which is fundamental in the Jewish code of behaviour; and I believe that these are the basic causes of Israel's successes in battle.

p.354

Theodor Herzl created the Zionist movement under pressure of persecution. He put Zionism on the map and in Palestine, discarding Uganda, the Congo, the Argentine and other suggestions. But when Herzl died in 1904, Jewish sovereignty in Palestine was as far off as ever. The First World War, removing every head of State with whom Herzl had negotiated - Germany, Russia, Italy, Turkey, Austria - and removing Turkish sovereignty from Palestine, at last gave the Zionists under Weizmann, their opportunity in the form of the Balfour Declaration, a document drafted by British statesmen. If Herzl was the architect of Zionism, Weizmann

can truly be said to have fulfilled the Divine Promise and to have built Israel on Herzl's plan. If Herzl was the first Jewish statesman since the destruction of Jerusalem, Weizmann was the second.

...  
The Balfour Declaration acknowledged the right of the Jewish people to rebuild their National Home in Palestine, that is to say in the Palestine as defined in Paris in 1919, which included the whole of the British Mandated Palestine. This was confirmed by the League of Nations, thereby giving the Balfour Declaration international recognition. In November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution requiring the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

p.355

Neither the Balfour Declaration, nor its confirmation by the League of Nations, nor the resolution by the General Assembly of the United Nations, nor the original boundaries of Mandated Palestine have been revoked. They still live and are binding.

It is impossible to establish a true Jewish life anywhere except in Palestine, since the Jews' attachment to the land of the Israelites is fundamentally different from a people's usual attachment to their home. Primarily, it is not a physical Palestine which attracts the Jews; Palestine is a memory, a hope, a Promised Land. Gentiles should appreciate and sympathize with the divine element underlying the eternal pilgrimage of the Jewish soul to Zion. And on the more practical side, the colonization of Palestine under the Zionists is one of the most hopeful adventures of modern times. The Jewish centres of communal life in Palestine are to me the most interesting social phenomena since 1918.

There has been much confusion about the definition of Palestine. When asked in Paris in 1919 as to the meaning of Palestine, Mr. Lloyd George said 'The area occupied by the twelve tribes of Israel, from Dan to Beersheba'. In the same year in Paris Lloyd George asked me what I considered to be Palestine. I replied the land occupied by the Jews at the birth of Christ. Lloyd George stuck to his 'Dan to Beersheba', but Dan could not be found on any map. I explained that Dan was a district at the southern base of Mount Hermon and at the head of the waters of the River Jordan. I mapped the area which I regarded as biblical Palestine. This was bounded on the north by the Litani River and the whole of the catchment area of the River Jordan from the southern slopes of Hermon south through Moab to the head of the Gulf of Aqaba and thence along the Egyptian-Turkish administrative frontier to Gaza. Both Lloyd George and Balfour agreed to this boundary but the French objected that the whole of Hermon must be included within Syria.

So Palestine came to include from Dan to Beersheba and the Transjordan catchment area of the Jordan valley. This was

further whittled down in 1921 when Mr. Churchill presented the Emir Abdullah with Transjordan, thus depriving the Jews of a valuable expansion area.

p.356

...Humility is a rare human trait especially among nations. In Israel it is a natural virtue.

In spite of British lack of sympathy for Zionism throughout the thirty years of Mandatory government, in spite of restrictions placed on immigration and land purchase, in spite of abandoning the country to an experimental orgy of anarchy and British failure to observe neutrality during Israel's War of Independence, during nearly two months stay in Israel in 1953, I never heard one word of bitterness against Britain, nor even against Egypt and the other Arab States. On the contrary, there is a very British background in Israeli life - one sees it in the army, in the high percentage of English-speaking Israelis and in the high percentage of British literature in Israeli homes. Hatred is not part of the Jewish character. One young Israelite, paraphrasing Nurse Cavell's words, said 'Patriotism is not enough; there must be no hatred in our hearts'.

...It is remarkable that the Jews, who have undergone persecution for 2,000 years, should be themselves immune from persecuting others; indeed they are the most tolerant people. ...

p.357

They (the children in Israel) are also rooted in the land from the very start, a sure foundation for sound citizenship. This kindness extends to animals. Shooting for sport - for the pleasure of killing - is almost unknown in Israel. Disturbance of nature is frowned on. Animal and plant life is preserved; there is no desire to destroy or disturb.

Great importance is attached to education. It has been said that the Jew is born educated; in no country in the world has education reached such a high standard as in Israel. The army is the chosen educational instrument, a means of transforming a mixed population drawn together from many countries, into a nation imbued with a pioneering spirit; Israel is peculiarly a holy nation, cemented by religion and age-old tradition, and now a coherent people, united in language, religion, homeland and purpose. Religion in Israel is not conspicuous nor much spoken of. But anyone attending Passover cannot but be profoundly impressed. The Jewish religious services are marked by simplicity; the elaborate dogma and ritual of Christianity are entirely absent. The religious traditions which have kept alive the remembrance of the Promised Land for nearly 2,000 years are fully present in Israel to-day. It is true that few Jews openly talk about them, but they are present none the less; perhaps they lie too deep to be expressed.

p.358

Herzl said that territory is the body of a nation, language its soul. The Jews have a deep passion for their homeland. This is all the more remarkable as by far the majority of Israelis are town-bred. In Israel, the passion for the land, the hills, the valleys, the trees and flowers is intense. This

is reflected to a remarkable degree in an almost universal desire to preserve the fauna and flora of the country. ...

A race, as opposed to a Nation, has roots. If torn up by its roots, as the Jews were from Palestine, the spiritual home of that race is in its own soil. It cannot thrive and develop in another soil.

Unlike other races which have been assimilated, the Jew has never lost the yearning for his own particular patch of soil in Palestine. Heaven knows, it is small enough; but that makes it all the more dear to him, more essential to him and more vital for his existence. That desire for his own soil will never die in the Jew so long as there are Jews in the world.

The Jews are a Nation: the Arabs are a religion. They are a Race with roots still in their home. Jerusalem is the Jewish holy centre, the spiritual focus of the people. Their temple remains in Jerusalem. The Jews are a peculiar phenomenon in world history; some say, only so long as Gentiles insist on keeping them so. But in fact they have kept themselves so. The Jews have more bad qualities than Western European; on the other hand they have more and better good qualities than the latter. ...

p.359

...

The birth of Israel is a remarkable exception; the country was fit for self-government even before the Mandate terminated; there was no corruption or inefficiency when Israel grasped her independence; arrogance is unknown in Israel; humility is a marked characteristic. Whereas most little countries, assuming independence, pick some silly quarrel with their neighbours, Israel's oft-repeated policy is a genuine desire for peace.

Israel's pattern of nationalism and her struggle for political independence has been quite different from the usual pattern. The first phase, the struggle and achievement, has not been followed by aggression, boasting and political bad manners. Asia and a great deal of Europe have failed to see Israel as a nation fighting desperately for her independence; the return of the Jews to their old home was regarded as a gross injustice and an unwarranted intrusion.

p.360

Israel's assumption of nationhood is one of the few examples in history of better government and greater prosperity following independence. Israel's success has been due to consistency and courage. Survival is the impetus which has enabled her to survive, fortified by her history, her religion and the intelligence of her people.

Independence has to be won and deserved. Israel has won her independence because she deserved it.

As the Jewish National Home was the most important and most constructive outcome of the First World War, so was the Sovereign State of Israel the direct and most important outcome of the Second World War. The Jewish State is a world necessity.



I am convinced that Israel will become the core of a spiritual influence, much needed and powerful in the history of mankind; a stable and progressive government in Palestine would provide a new, purer and more living religion based on tolerance for a world which is lapsing into a dead materialism. When the full power of Israel is developed, Jerusalem rebuilt and the Temple restored, then will the Holy Land become a spiritual centre for the whole world.

p. 361

...Egypt knows, all the Arab States know, that by themselves they cannot eliminate Israel; they also know and Israel knows that a major war will not be started by Britain or the United States in defence of Israel no matter how many agreements and treaties are signed.

...

Britain's supreme failure, due to appeasement of the Arab States, fear of friendship with Israel lest the Arabs be offended and partly, I regret, to that foul disease hebraphobia, has resulted in arming the Arab States whose sole purpose is attacking Israel; this has led to a most regrettable estrangement between Israel and Britain to the disadvantage of both. Britain has never appreciated what a lasting friendship with Israel would mean. As long ago as 1902, Theodor Herzl, during an interview with Joseph Chamberlain, said 'In El Arish and Sinai there is empty land. England can give us that. In return she would gain an increase of her power and the gratitude of ten million Jews.' And again to Lord Rothschild 'You may claim high credit from your government if you strengthen British influence in the Near East by the colonization of our people at a strategic point.'

p.362

The gulf between Jew and Arab is wide and deep, and yet they have much in common. Both are children of the desert; they are both Semites - descendants of Shem - and they share the basic beliefs of monotheism. The Jew has progressed and reached the summit of modern civilization, the Arab has stagnated and only recently have the rumblings of progress been apparent. And yet these two peoples, with so much in common, are bitterly hostile, the Arab wishing to exterminate the Jew as an intruding stranger, and the Jew only too anxious for Arab friendship, but not at any price, and prepared to proffer assistance in return for good neighbourship. Moreover, the Arab has a lot to learn from the Jew and could profit much from co-operation. But his selfish brand of nationalism, based on destruction and hatred, forbids him taking advantage of Israeli culture. Israel could give valuable assistance to neighbouring Arab States in agriculture, water conservation, education, health and hygiene; but the door is slammed by hatred.

...One outstanding Jewish characteristic is persistence; they will not take No for an answer and that was our main trouble in Palestine during the Mandate; the officers of the Administration found Jews troublesome because they were intellectually superior; ...



...I have heard it said that we English drink in hebraphobia with our mothers' milk; there is certainly a sign of inherited contempt and I often wonder if Jewish insistence on the crucifixion of Jesus may not lay at the root of dislike of Jews by Christians, forgetting that Pilate sentenced Jesus who was himself a pure Jew.

The Arab with his picturesque clothes and romantic surroundings, has always appealed to Englishmen: his simple mind, often a cloak for stupidity, and his dignity, usually a cloak for lack of humour, has always appealed to those who administer him. It is remarkable how many English men and women have fallen in love with Arabs and the Desert and how many eccentrics, ancient and modern, have sprung from those two influences.

### Israel's Problems

p.363

Security: The burden of defence against an Arab attack, in defiance of United Nations resolutions, is crippling but vital for survival. The 'security' problem could be solved at once if Turkish Sinai, which does not belong to Egypt, were occupied either by Britain or the United Nations.

Immigration: Can Israel absorb the ingathering during the next few years? It is not only a drain on income but on available land. This could be solved by restoring to Israel what rightly belongs to her - Mandated Palestine.

Arab Refugees: Every country is responsible for its own refugees. The Arab States could solve this problem tomorrow if they wished, for they have vast areas of undeveloped land and huge funds derived from oil. But they prefer to use the sufferings of thousands of their own people as political propaganda.

### Errors and Omissions

p.363/364

Failure of H.M.G. to occupy Turkish Sinai and permitting Egyptian sovereignty to extend to the frontiers of Palestine.  
Responsibility: Foreign Office.

Failure to adopt the Meinertzhagen Line as boundary of Palestine in 1919.  
Responsibility: H.M.G. and French.

Severing Jordan from Palestine.  
Responsibility: Churchill and Lawrence.

Abandoning Israel to her fate in 1948 before she was prepared to defend herself, H.M.G. knowing well that the Arab States would attack.  
Responsibility: Bevin.

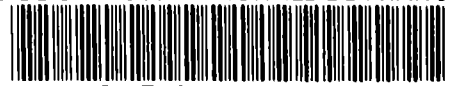
Bringing pressure to bear on Israel to stop fighting in 1948 at a moment when it was obvious that Egypt was about to receive a crushing defeat.

Responsibility: Bevin.

Stopping Israel reaching the Suez Canal in 1956 when she would have internationalized it; and then allowing Egypt to re-occupy Sinai east of the Rafa-Suez Line, an area which does not belong to her.

Responsibility: Eden.

BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE



3 7502 00621974 7